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INDIA AND THE CHURCH

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PREFACE

We are under no delusions about this book. It is not a great book, and those who read it will search in vain for new and original ideas. It does not offer a solution of urgent and baffling problems, except in so far as it claims that there is no solution of any of the world's problems, including those of India, save such as has been offered by Him whose "Name is above every name." We are well aware also that we lay ourselves open to the criticism of writing a book about India after having been there (except in two cases) for little more than four months, and that this criticism will certainly be made. We have considered this carefully, and have come to the decision that the occasion justifies us in "facing the music." In reply, we only ask our critics to read the book. But we are under no delusions.

On the other hand, we hope that our readers will be under no delusions either, whether about the writers or what they have written. We do not consider ourselves to be issuing what is commonly called "a pronouncement," still less are we attempting to set people right and teach them their job. We desire, too, that it will not be thought that the book is a united effort of the whole body of those who were sent out by the home Church on the Mission of Help. No others are responsible except ourselves, though some have made valuable suggestions to us. Nor,

again, is it a concerted work of the writers. Owing to pressure of time, we shall not read each other's papers until we see them in print in the volume; we are responsible each for our own blunders and for nobody else's. We admit no corporate responsibility.

What, then, do we think of our own work, and claim for it and hope about it? It is an attempt to state some eternal Christian principles in the setting of India. From another point of view it is a summary of the things we said in India, of the message we were sent to deliver, but coloured to some extent necessarily by our experiences and what we saw and heard. It is a last attempt to discharge the task for which we were chosen and sent forth, a burden which we undertook gladly, but not without a sense of its weight. It is a dream of the "Church in Action" in India, Burma, and Ceylon. But perhaps it is too bold to say that. It is a glimpse, only a glimpse, of the eternal Gospel in an Eastern setting. But it is certainly too bold to say that!

The book begins with papers on "The Responsibility of Empire" and "The Church." Then follow the subjects of "The Englishman in India," and "The Missionary Enterprise," where is to be found to some extent a closer view of the ideas of the first two chapters. The next three papers deal with the difficulties and possibilities of the religion of the individual Christian in India. At the end of the book will be found some account of the Mission by the Metropolitan of India and the sermon delivered by the Archbishop of Canterbury in Westminster Abbey before we sailed, which it is obviously right to include. If we have addressed ourselves primarily to an audience

in India, yet we have kept our eyes partly also upon possible readers at home, and we venture to hope that many will find these pages interesting who have never passed the great statue of de Lesseps at Port Said.

We send our book forth very humbly. Others would have said all that is herein said and said it much better; but we had the opportunity, the "occasion," and they had not. Our single desire is to help. In the last resort nothing matters to nations, empires, kingdoms, peoples, and men and women, but the coming of the Kingdom of God. No one can have been through an experience such as ours without sometimes secretly asking, "How long?"

> But the slow watches of the night
> Not less to God belong;
> And for the everlasting right
> The silent stars are strong.
>
> And lo, already on the hills
> The flags of dawn appear;
> Gird up your loins, ye prophet souls,
> Proclaim the day is near.

If we did not hope that we might help a little to make that dream, the greatest that man has dreamed, seem more desirable to a few, and to encourage a few others, the "prophet souls," in their proclaiming, this book would never have reached the printer.

Authors' profits, if any, on the sales of this book will be sent to the Metropolitan to be spent on Church Schools in India.

E. P. S.

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INDIA AND THE CHURCH

I

THE SPIRITUAL RESPONSIBILITY OF EMPIRE

By the Rt. Rev. FRANK THEODORE WOODS, D.D.,
Bishop of Winchester (formerly of Peterborough).

The adjective is hardly necessary. There can be no responsibility of Empire that is not spiritual—that is not essentially concerned with the characters of the men and the communities which compose the imperial domain. You may look at it from the political point of view, or the economic, or from the point of view of the grave social problems which are involved, but ultimately and inevitably it is spiritual. Some of the best of Eastern potentates have realised this. I well remember standing before the magnificent Gate of Victory through which the visitor passes into the city of Fatehpur Sikri, splendid even in its desolation. One of the inscriptions on that portal proclaims the spiritual outlook of its builder, the great Emperor Akbar, who was himself an unwearied seeker after truth: "Jesus, on whom be peace, said, The world is a bridge. Pass over it, but build not upon it. The world endures but an hour; spend that hour in devotion." He felt, so it seems, that unless he could find some spiritual principle potent enough to heal the racial discords of his day, the Empire, on which he

had spent so much thought and energy, was doomed to disruption. And every thoughtful Briton, who contemplates the task with which, as an Empire, we are faced in both East and West, must feel the same. For the Empire is not the result of land-grabbing or even of the search for new markets, but of a spiritual quality compounded of enterprise and a passion for liberty—a quality which has enabled Britain on four successive occasions to save Europe from the tyranny with which it was threatened, and by virtue of which she has become the guardian rather than the exploiter of the peoples brought by the exigencies of commerce or war within her domain. If it was true, as Horace Walpole used to say, that men on waking used to ask what new regions had been added to the Empire, it is also true that the next question, in Britain's best mind, has always been, How can we develop these regions in citizenship and commerce, not merely for our own benefit, but for the benefit of the peoples concerned?

I

It is obvious that any discussion of the theme which is the title of this paper leads straight to the problem upon which, more than upon any other, the future of the world depends—the problem of the relationship between the races, and in particular between those which are commonly labelled white and yellow. It was confidently asserted by an American newspaper during the war that the great conflict then raging was a storm in a teacup compared with the terrific struggle which must inevitably ensue—the struggle between the white races and the yellow races

for the domination of the world. The question whether that prediction will be verified or falsified depends ultimately upon spiritual factors, and these will find their scope mainly in two directions, first in the relationship between the peoples of America and Britain, and secondly in the outlook and behaviour of the nations which constitute the British Commonwealth. To speak of the first is not my business just now, though it is difficult even to allude to it without paying a humble tribute to the man who, perhaps more than any other in our generation, saw the vital necessity of a growing comradeship between the members of the Anglo-Saxon race East and West—Walter Page. "As the world stands," he says, "the United States and Great Britain must work together and stand together. . . . *The* thing, the *only* thing, is a perfect understanding between the English-speaking peoples. That's necessary, and that's all that's necessary. . . ." It is worth while for the good of our British souls, and as we are concerned with the things of the spirit, to add what follows—for we Britishers could take anything from Page: "I frankly tell my friends here that the English have got to throw away their damned arrogance and their insularity, and we Americans have got to throw away our provincial ignorance."

Not less vital, however, to the solution of the racial question is the spirit and behaviour of the British Commonwealth, for in that Commonwealth the world possesses an experimental seed-ground in which it should be possible to ascertain whether the flower of a common citizenship can be produced, and if so, what are the seeds from which it springs; whether, in fact, there is possible a comradeship in ideal and in action

between peoples not merely of divergent political outlook, but with the much graver divergences of race and tradition. So far, on the whole, the experiment has been encouraging. Indeed, if it were not so, the large experiment of a League of Nations issuing ultimately in a world-commonwealth would seem merely futile and absurd. But the success of the experiment so far is no guarantee of its continuance in the future, for since the apotheosis of Imperialism in the Diamond Jubilee of 1897 much water has flowed under the political bridge, and many new factors have appeared upon the scene. One such factor is the wave of nationalism which has been advancing in the East as well as in the West, the craze for self-determination so called, in which many old political and even racial landmarks have already been submerged, and which has thereby demolished most of the bases on which political calculations were founded. At the back of this, and in part its cause, was the Great War, in which the Europe so often held up to Eastern admiration was seen to be convulsed in an internecine quarrel on a scale compared to which most Eastern campaigns were mere field-days.* Another—and this is a factor

* "They [the Western-educated Indian] had sufficient knowledge to be able to think out some of the implications of the Great War, and the more they thought them out the less they admired a Western civilisation which had allowed itself to come to such a pass. They saw and understood most of the bad; they got no first-hand knowledge of the good—the unselfish suffering, the glorious *camaraderie*, and the wonderful heroisms of the war. At the end of it for them the Westerner had hardly a shred of reputation left. His civilisation seemed to them to have been proven a failure, his power a delusion, the inevitability of his dominance a pricked bubble"—(Dr. Garfield Williams.)

to be seriously reckoned with—as a natural consequence the East is no longer prepared to be lectured by the West. It has come to a new self-consciousness, and is not disposed to be patronised. It sees, in fact, little reason for supposing that Europe, or even Britain, is a paragon of political or social virtue. Probably it would heartily agree with the great American ambassador already quoted. "The idea that we were brought up on, that Europe is the home of civilisation in general—nonsense! It's a periodical slaughter-pen, with all the vices that this implies. I'd as lief live in the Chicago stockyards. There they kill beeves and pigs. Here they kill men, and (incidentally) women and children." That is one side of the picture. There is another. The visitor to the East, even the fleeting visitor such as I was, cannot escape the impression that there is a difference—a mighty difference—between the outlook of a hemisphere which, with all its glaring faults, has been subtilly leavened through centuries with Christian ideals and Christian inspirations, and a hemisphere where no such influences have been at work. In the disparagement of the West, often so well deserved, it is not the ideals which are to blame, but the crass and lamentable failure of the nations in question to live up to them. But they have been there. And when all is said the difference they have made is colossal. The lack of them has been the undoing of every Empire that the world has so far seen. Before the days of Rome it was simply a question how long the despotism or the dynasty would last. Rome herself began well. In her early days she showed a sturdy faith in democracy (limited though it was) which kept her steady and strong

through many trials, but in the end she lost her community spirit. She had no spiritual ideals capable of withstanding the inroads of ambition, wealth, and luxury. From a spiritual faith in the people she lapsed into an opportunist materialism which could think of nothing better for them than *panem et circenses*. There was no "leaven" to "stop the rot," for the Christian faith arrived too late upon the scene to hold up the process of decay.

II

For the task before us we shall need all the ideals we can muster and all the inspiration we can find, for our problem is fundamentally the problem of the whole world—namely, is it possible to create a world-commonwealth consisting of many races, many nations, many degrees of civilisation, yet united in a larger loyalty than anything local or regional, subject to one law, keeping one peace? The experience of the war, in this regard, was distinctly reassuring, for it disclosed the fact that the various peoples of the Empire do recognise a common ideal of liberty and law, and that when that ideal is threatened they are prepared to die in thousands for its defence. But even the war, astonishing as it may seem, is already a "back number," and any calculations based upon the sentiments and loyalties then displayed must be made with care and caution. So far as Canada, Australia, and even South Africa are concerned, the prospect is hopeful enough. They enjoy complete self-government. They do homage to the same religious ideals. Their very freedom to "cut the painter" that binds them to the Empire is perhaps

the best guarantee that they will not do so. For free nations such as these to remain in the same federal loyalty is remarkable, but not extraordinary. They are in the main our own kith and kin. In the case where that loyalty is shared by another civilised race, as in the case of the Dutch in South Africa, it is a white race. They have their differences from us—differences which are sometimes freely expressed—but they are not racial and fundamental. The crux is the East; and, in particular, owing to its vast size and importance, India. It is not too much to say that if we can so order our dealings with India in the next half-century in such a way as to win afresh her loyalty—loyalty not to an arbitrary "Raj," but to a free Commonwealth, a loyalty which in this case would be more deliberate and therefore more secure—we shall have gone far to solve the world-problem to which I have alluded, for we shall have demonstrated the possibility of a real unity in diversity between East and West, and have discovered the secret of a common citizenship between civilisations utterly diverse both in tradition and outlook. This is the tremendous conundrum of the twentieth century. Our Empire is in the best position for finding the solution. If we fail, it will be plain to the world that we stand for a racial civilisation in which Easterners are not expected to share, except in so far as they may care to pick up the crumbs that fall from the Western table, and in which the plums are reserved for the white races. Whether it would be possible so to reserve them is quite another matter. For on this hypothesis there would be quite conceivably a break-up of the Empire, and the easily imaginable menace of an

Eastern militarism (for China and Japan cannot be left out of the calculation) might become a stark reality. If we succeed—but can we? There is a story told by the late Bishop Westcott of Durham which is not irrelevant here. He had gone to pay a farewell visit to his old master—himself a bishop, but greater as a schoolmaster than as a bishop. They talked of many things, recalled many reminiscences of old days; and then, as the afternoon wore on, the conversation took a graver turn. At last the venerable teacher looked across at his distinguished pupil, and summed up the experience of a lifetime, as it seemed, in Christ's great words—*μὴ φοβοῦ, μόνον πίστευε*: "Be not afraid; only believe." That is the motto we need as we contemplate the future of India and our share in it. We are so easily content with the dull estimates of experience, sheltering gladly behind soothing phrases as "the unchanging East," glibly quoting our imperial poet, "And East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." We are even in danger of looking upon the war as a passing episode, and trying (as many in England have been trying in matters political and industrial) to reconstruct the pre-war régime, unmindful of the terrific effect on men's judgments and ambitions which the great conflict has produced. We are called to a new faith and a new adventure. After all, no peoples have responded to vision and adventure like the peoples of the East. All the great religions have been born there. And in each case—Buddha and Mohammad and Christ—it was a leader calling men to a new renunciation of material attractions, to a new faith in the things unseen, and to an adventure which, repudiating the cool calcula-

tions of sense, goes forth to achieve the impossible. It is not difficult to be cynical and to put on the superior air in regard to these things. The fact remains that if we want the East to respond we must have, above all things, imagination. Every "holy man" that I saw doing his devotions on the banks of the Ganges bears witness to this. Every white-capped disciple of Gandhi is more concerned with the summons of the Master to a great adventure (as he deems it) than with the political programme he propounds.

III

This is only to say that in our dealings with India it is the spiritual which matters most. Wise statesmanship, intellectual ability, administrative experience, are vital indeed, but the "one thing needful" is inspiration. By inspiration I mean the conviction that in helping a people to an ordered self-development we are co-operating in a Divine purpose, and that in such a work we may count upon the equipment of His Spirit. These are the indispensable ingredients of imagination. Assuredly there have been men in our Indian administration who lacked neither the conviction nor the equipment. Such inspiration is to be found, though not on the surface, in the words of one of our earlier administrators, Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, as far back as 1824. "Liberal treatment has always been found the most effectual way of elevating the character of any people, and we may be sure that it will produce a similar effect on that of the people of India. We should look upon India not as a temporary possession,

but as one to be maintained permanently, until the natives shall in some future age have abandoned most of their superstitions and prejudices, and become sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular government for themselves, and to conduct and preserve it. Whenever such a time shall arrive, it will probably be best for both countries that the British control over India should be gradually withdrawn. . . . We shall see no reason to doubt that if we pursue steadily the proper measures we shall in time so far improve the character of our Indian subjects as to enable them to govern and protect themselves."* More explicit were the words of a man whose services were described by the Duke of Wellington as "unprecedented," and who was, in the phrase of Lord Roberts, "one of the most remarkable men that India ever produced," Colonel Sir Herbert Edwardes. "That man must have a very narrow mind," said he, about thirty years later than Munro, "who thinks that this immense India has been given to our little England for no other purpose than our aggrandisement. . . . Empires come into existence for higher purposes than this, however blindly intent we may be upon our own. And what are these purposes? Have they no higher object than the spread of vernacular education, the reduction of taxes, the erection of bridges, the digging of canals, the increase of commerce, the introduction of electric telegraphs, the laying down of great lines of railroad? Do we look no further than these temporal triumphs of civilisation? We cannot think so meanly of Him with whom one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. All His plans and purposes must look

* Sir Valentine Chirol, "India Old and New," p. 76.

through time to eternity, and we may rest assured that the East has been given to our country for a mission not only to the minds and bodies, but to the souls of men."*

Edwardes, it may be, draws a sharper contrast than we should between the " temporal triumphs of civilisation " and the progress of the Kingdom of God, between the bodies and minds of the people and their souls, but he spoke for some of the mightiest men we have ever sent to India, men who were giants of wise statesmanship and of executive efficiency, men to whom Lawrence's immortal epitaph might be unreservedly applied.† It is such men of large vision and strong conviction who time and again have proved themselves peculiarly capable in the difficult art of managing others and in the intricacies of administration. Of Lawrence it was said by W. Bosworth Smith that " nobody has ever done so much towards the bridging over the gulf that separates race from race, colour from colour, creed from creed. Nobody has ever been so beloved. Nobody has ever deserved to be so beloved."‡

It may safely be asserted that no empire has ever produced and sent out a succession of proconsuls,

* E. Stock, " History of the Church Missionary Society," vol. ii., p. 209.

† " Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty." It is significant that Lawrence, in reviewing the course of the Mutiny in the Punjab, points instinctively to the hand of God. " No doubt, humanly speaking, the Punjab possessed great advantages, but as a protection against the peril of the time, all such advantages were as nothing without the support of the everlasting arm of Almighty God."

‡ " Life of Lord Lawrence," vol. i., p. 388.

administrators, military leaders, which for sheer force of character and ability could be compared with those whom we have sent to the East during the last 150 years. And in scores of instances, as I have already indicated, the secret of their success was not so much mere ability. It was, quite literally and definitely, inspiration. The fact of it and the need of it is as true to-day. For the task becomes increasingly difficult, and the demand for the highest qualities in those who undertake it more searching. The lot of men in the Indian Civil Service, for instance, is far from enviable. The whole vast administrative machine—perhaps its critics would say bureaucratic machine—has been constructed by them and the magnificent service they represent through many years of experiment and perseverance. They are now required to hand it over in large measure to Indians who, in some cases at least, have neither the knowledge nor the experience to work it, and who, in a few instances, are anxious to wreck it. To see the work of a lifetime thus apparently wasted is galling to any man, but most of all to the Englishman whose watchword, from the moment we set foot in India, has always been justice and efficiency in government. The result, of course, is only too obvious. Whereas admission to this world-famous service used to be the blue-ribbon of distinction to the sixth-form boys in the public schools, the difficulty now is to find any candidates at all. "The prospects are too uncertain," it is said. But one prospect is sometimes left out of calculation—the prospect of being able to help India at the moment when above all others she needs it; the prospect of being able to lend a hand during this

most difficult period of transition. We have always said that our business in India was the education of our fellow-citizens there to a citizenship, and ultimately to a government of their own. The time has now come for those actions which speak louder than words. They must be painful. It is always so much pleasanter for the teachers to keep things in their own hands, and do them right than hand them over to their pupils and see them doing them wrong. Yet there is no doubt where the path of true statesmanship lies. This, then, is the moment when, more than ever, we should encourage young men of insight and ability in our schools and universities to adventure themselves on this noble and imperial enterprise. It can be done. I shall not easily forget the impression made on me by a young Englishman who is giving his energies to municipal affairs in one of the most important cities of India. He was, and is, to all intents and purposes, mayor of the city. The town council is wholly Indian, and consists of men many of whom were from the first far from anxious to work with him, and some of whom were openly out to obstruct. None the less by a combination of tact, patience, firmness, and courage he has not merely won his position, but has inaugurated a state of municipal efficiency which is the more satisfactory because it is not a régime imposed from above, but is the result of a real co-operation in which the Indians have their full share. The fact is that the qualities which we must look for now in our Indian administrators are somewhat different from those which were conspicuous in the great men to whom I have alluded. Their influence will now depend, as has been wisely said, more on the capacity to persuade

than to give orders. They will need more and more of " the will to fellowship," and a readiness to express it both publicly and privately. They must—as many are admirably doing—set themselves against all racial aloofness, be always more alive to the bond, not only of common membership in the Empire, but of our common humanity, than to the separating influences of tradition or creed. But this task and these demands are supremely spiritual. I submit that if our people are to meet them, and if our brethren in India are to respond to them, we must lift them into the light of God's plan, and count upon the co-operation of His Spirit. The man who approaches such a task in the faith that he is thereby co-operating with a purpose of the Most High, and may expect the daily assistance of a Power that is not his own, is by that very fact endowed with resources which cannot be calculated by ordinary standards. " His strength is as the strength of ten." He believes that the imperial responsibility to which he has given his life is a spiritual responsibility, and that in so far as he whole-heartedly pushes truth and justice and righteousness and fellowship, he has circuiting through his character and his work a current of highest potency—" the powers of the age to come."

It will be seen, I hope, from what has been said, that it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of our imperial adventure. It is inseparable from the world's wistful quest for a deeper fellowship and a permanent peace. On the result of our experiment in interracial comradeship the possibilities of the future, on an even wider scale, will be judged. For it is certain that the issue lies in the ability or inability of the nations to

rise above their separate national standpoints to the larger standpoint of humanity. It is their inability to do this which has retarded, and still retards, the economic renewal of post-war Europe. It was their ability to do this at the moment that made the success of the Washington Conference. To catch that humanity-spirit, make it dominant in the Empire, make it permanent in some world-organ like the League of Nations—this is our responsibility, and I insist again that it can only be met by spiritual resources. The humanity-spirit can only be captured in its fullness by the inspiration of the Divinity-Spirit (if I may so speak) to Whom nothing human is alien, and Who breathed in the humanity of Jesus Christ. Men often speak as if God has no mind that is ascertainable in these matters. They often tacitly (and impertinently) ignore the fact that the Most High has thought fit to intervene in human history, and in the person and character of Jesus Christ has placarded before mankind both His own character and the laws of true life for the individual and for the community. That these laws are persistently ignored does not make them any less binding; it merely unveils the folly of men, for wherever those laws are persistently broken disaster inevitably follows, as this generation has very good reason to know. The law of fellowship among men is as much a piece of God's mind (so to speak) as the law of gravitation in nature. To set oneself against the one, whether as a man or a nation, is as foolish and futile as to fight against the other. Every consideration of self-preservation, to say nothing of material advantage, urges us to a larger world-fellowship, of which the Empire is to be at once the instrument and

the foretaste, but oddly enough these ample motives are not sufficient. Men are seldom more amenable to their reason than to their instincts, and when those elemental instincts of pride and pugnacity are roused, or in danger of being roused, you must bring a greater motive-power upon the scene. For the Christian it is there already, in the mind of God as unveiled in Jesus Christ. For as he watches that life and observes that outlook he realises that the righteousness, fellowship, self-sacrifice, which the world thinks quixotic and visionary, are not merely the urgent necessities of humanity, but are unmovable items in the plan of God; are, that is, in accordance with the very nature of things, and that on every occasion the nature of things—God's scheme—will rally to their aid.

Nor is this all. No one can study the life of Christ without discovering that, though He was without doubt the greatest patriot that ever lived—witness His tears over Jerusalem and His incessant work for His nation—He was looking, and bidding others look, beyond the limits of His own people and seeking to lead men to the larger standpoint of the whole Family of Him who is the Father of all, and "makes His sun rise on the just and the unjust." In fact, it was this very fact—that He steadfastly clung to the humanity-standpoint in contrast to the proud and narrow patriotism of His contemporaries—that in the end cost Him His life. He would not countenance revolutionary movements against the Roman Raj, nor had He the smallest sympathy with Jewish ambitions to dominate the world. He was too large-hearted, too wide-minded for the men of His day. But in the Resurrection (if I may so put it) His views were countersigned as the

mind of the Supreme and the Eternal; and to adopt them and act upon them in the hard circumstances of this twentieth century is to be borne along on "the tide which leads to fortune," or, rather, shall we say, to the destination which God has marked out for the children of His Kingdom. Membership in the Empire, then, is a spiritual responsibility: a responsibility to those races for whom, for the time, we are in the position of trustees; a responsibility to ourselves, for we are on trial as those who, by their own age-long national training, should be able, if anyone is able, to solve these urgent problems of race-fellowship; a responsibility to the world, to provide an object-lesson in the unity of divergent peoples in a true commonwealth. And there is the responsibility in which all else is included—our responsibility to God.

II

THE CHURCH IN INDIA

By the Rev. D. JENKS, M.A., formerly Director of the Society of the Sacred Mission, Kelham; Assistant Secretary of the Missionary Council of the Church of England.

The scope of this chapter is limited by the conditions of the volume to which it is contributed. Being written for members of the Church of England in India, it is needless to consider any other preliminary question than the purpose of the Church. When thus restricted, the writer is conscious of suffering from the disadvantage that he cannot approach his task from a layman's outlook. He has behind him the study of theology and of Church history which inclines him towards a theoretical appreciation. However much he may have tried to see with others' eyes, he cannot hope to succeed in facing the privileges and responsibilities of Churchmanship as they appear to those whose knowledge of life has been acquired in other ways, and whose ideas of Church membership are formed mainly from practical experience built upon the accident of childhood's memories.

Each of us suffers from some disadvantage in his method of approach. The one is in danger of ignoring facts that do not fall in with his theory; the other runs the risk of building too much upon personal

experience without thinking out the purpose for which the Church exists.

Any attempt to look upon the Church as primarily an organisation, or as a society embodying a particular system of doctrines, may be put on one side. Organisation is not life, but a condition of corporate and historical life. Doctrine is a systematised expression of revelation, and is not identical with revelation. The Church is a corporate fellowship expressing in terms of human life the revelation of Christ to mankind. That the Church, as we observe it at any moment and in any place, is divided by questions of organisation and doctrine, is almost a necessary consequence of the limitations of human character. The purpose of the Church is not, however, changed thereby; it is only the fulfilment of its purpose that is hampered.

There is a sense in which the writer is prepared to express his conviction that Christ did not even intend to form the Church. The Church was inevitable. It is not a method of carrying out the purpose, but is itself the purpose in its working. An acorn does not intend to grow into an oak-tree. What Jesus Christ came to do was to bring fullness of life to mankind. What we, as individual Christians, desire is to share in this life and to make it abound.

The root idea of the Church may therefore be expressed by the word fellowship. All life is fellowship. The excessive emphasis upon individuality has happily given place to a larger psychology, which has reacted healthily upon the extreme individualism of religion, and has made it more easy to think of Christianity in social terms. It is realised that an isolated individual offers no explanation of himself, and that the attempt

to live an isolated life dwarfs personality. The fullness of personality can only hope to be attained in the experience of fellowship. Where life is healthy this effort is spontaneous. When St. Paul wrote that charity or love seeketh not her own, he was expressing the inherent instinct of life within the fellowship of the Church; and he was also unfolding the development of the individual life within this fellowship.

Man is made for fellowship, and service is an active expression of fellowship. Along this line of thought one may insist again upon the inevitableness of the Church, and may regard it as the fellowship of life which Christ has brought to the world. The Christian way of life is the fulfilment of human life. It is of the essence of Christ's revelation that in all He came to fulfil, to bring to full development.

This fellowship of life is for us necessarily an effort of attainment, and not a mechanical accomplishment. When our Lord Jesus Christ was asked, " Who is my neighbour ?" His answer was, " Go, and do thou likewise." Fellowship is a spirit, whose movement of life is observed as purpose. Even if our imagination allowed us to play with the idea of an external fellowship of organisation, we should not thereby have fellowship.

Within limitations, such as belong to the conditions of human life within our experience of it, we have to pursue a Christian fellowship arising out of a Christian fellowship to which we belong, and from which we receive. The conditions of this fellowship involve very tangled relationships, which ought not to be disregarded, since they are part of the fellowship which we inherit, and from which we cannot dissociate ourselves without

loss. What is the significance of this fellowship for English Churchmen in India?

To appreciate this one ought to think of the way in which historically the fellowship has expressed itself in India as the outward manifestation of its inner life. Such a review, of necessity inadequate through brevity, gives some measure of present responsibility, and helps to bring forward the complexity of the problems that have to be faced to-day. In life one is incapable of denying one's past.

The Directors of the East India Company from the beginning of the seventeenth century provided chaplains for their ships; and later, as the Company acquired land, supplied chaplains in residence at the factories. As early as 1614 a young Indian, having been taught to read and write by one of the chaplains, was sent to England in one of the Company's ships, and after receiving Christian instruction was baptised in the presence of some members of the Privy Council, the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London, and members of the East India Company and of the sister Company of Virginia.

In 1698 the Company's charter contained the requirement that chaplains should study the vernacular for the purpose of instructing the Indian servants in the Protestant religion.

The enormous growth of the Company's territory in the eighteenth century was met by corresponding enterprise in the increase of chaplaincies, churches, and schools; free passages were given in all ships to the missionaries sent out by the Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge, and every assistance was given to their work in India.

In 1813 India and Ceylon were made a diocese by Letters Patent, and the Bishop was given authority over the Company's chaplains and over all priests and deacons in Holy Orders of the Church of England and Ireland, including missionaries. The consequences of this step may be traced in two directions. Emphatically the charter of that year declared that the British conscience faced a Christian responsibility in India. We could not be in India as a trading company, acquiring extensive possessions, and obtaining wealth from it, and be indifferent to the evangelisation of the country. That is one way in which the Christian fellowship was expressing its spirit of life.

But involved in this was the establishment of a legal ecclesiastical relationship. India and Ceylon were made a diocese by Act of Parliament. The ecclesiastical status was fixed, whereby on the one hand the Church of England in India was definitely precluded from shrinking into a national fellowship of English Churchmen, with an evangelising enterprise carried on in independence of it; on the other hand, the Church of England in India was bound hand and foot to the conditions of establishment which existed and still exist in the mother-country.

For more than a century the life of the Church fellowship has expanded under these conditions. The one bishopric has increased to thirteen, with great variety in the methods of appointment and of payment. The East India Company has lost its charter, and the King-Emperor rules as Sovereign, acting constitutionally through parliamentary government. The Church of England does not act corporately as a missionary body, but informally through various voluntary

societies; but every one of the ordained ministers of these societies is under the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese. Chaplains are still provided for the spiritual requirements of English Churchmen, in continuation of the policy adopted by the East India Company, and their appointment is the responsibility of the India Office. They are supplemented by clergy accepted directly by the bishops, and not infrequently the assistant chaplains become establishment chaplains.

Actually what has taken place during these hundred years is a change from the Church of England in India consisting mainly of Englishmen, to a Church of England in India consisting for the main part of Indians. That is the present expression of the life of the Church fellowship in which members of the Church of England, temporarily resident in India, find themselves. And the change is not only that of the race of the majority. With this change it has also come to pass that the larger number of the British members of the fellowship are temporary members; the predominant Indian, and Anglo-Indian, membership consists of permanent members.

A variety of considerations, urgent and insistent, forces upon Churchmen in India a broad and careful study of the conditions of this fellowship under changing circumstances. To deny the responsibility of the fellowship is to reject history. The writer is, however, bound to remember that the policy of the Church of England in India is its own task, which it alone can face as it works out the implications of its fellowship by the spirit of life, as it has done in the past.

Doubtless in the wider fellowship of the Church there comes to its aid the ecclesiastical history of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire, which have secured their autonomy while maintaining their fullness of ecclesiastical fellowship with the mother-country, and which have a united fellowship in each dominion of the people of the country, the permanent colonists and the temporary sojourners. Conditions vary and ecclesiastical constitutions differ, but the fellowship is maintained. In some dominions the oneness in Christ is more adequately expressed than in others; but even where the fellowship is less openly manifested, it exists and only waits for a fuller spirit of fellowship to bring about closer co-operation in Christian life.

But the self-governing dominions do not provide a parallel with India. They merely show that as one set of difficulties has been met satisfactorily, without loss of spiritual fellowship, a different set of difficulties may also be surmounted if there is the same spirit of life.

The problem facing English Churchmen in India may be described briefly as that of setting free for its fuller expansion the life of this united fellowship of Indian and Englishman, so that the fellowship endures while the Indian Christian life is able to express itself without constraint and overlordship, and the English Churchman temporarily in India is neither cut off from fellowship with his spiritual heritage at home, nor required to make such changes in his accustomed spiritual life as shall create a breach in his personal history.

The problem is undoubtedly complicated and difficult. It is, however, not more complicated or

more difficult than constitutional crises at home through which the mother-country has passed safely from time to time, or through which the Empire is slowly and surely passing in the present. What is vital to the solution is the spirit of fellowship. The purpose of this essay is to face a purely preliminary task. It does not attempt the impertinence of offering any practical suggestions. It asks, What is the purpose of the Church in India? and how can an Englishman qualify himself for the fulfilment of his fellowship?

The present Metropolitan of India has written that "many Englishmen in the country seem extraordinarily slow to picture to themselves how the Indian views the Church, or to realise that, after all, the Church in India should be primarily the Church of the country." To the writer this slowness to visualise the Church in India is not so extraordinary. It is only extraordinarily English. Our Christianity does not easily adapt itself to strange surroundings. We carry our Church of England Prayer-Book with us, and demand wherever we go a Sunday service which shall, as far as possible, transplant us for the time into an English town or village church. This is not altogether to be deprecated. It is easy to laugh at the lack of imagination, or to think that one should enjoy the richness of variety. But we have our spiritual roots in the mother-country; and, however much we may like to consider ourselves emancipated, we are exceedingly conservative in religious practice. Moreover, with our Prayer-Book is bound up much of our best history in life; it is associated with home memories, with school chapel, and very likely to-day our own children are using it in England.

But if only we can see the Church in India in the spirit of fellowship, we shall find that no one wants us to attend services in Marathi or Urdu, or to substitute for the Book of Common Prayer a new office composed by Indian Christians to fit the Oriental genius of worship. The unity of Church fellowship is something altogether apart from and higher than the use of a common book of prayers or of a common liturgy.

In the spirit of Christian fellowship we ought to face that already we are a minority, and that Indian Christians are fretting at a restraint which checks the expression of their fellowship in the Church of Christ. A century ago Bishop Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta, founded Bishop's College for the training of an Indian ministry. It is that spirit, possessed by Englishmen at home, and animating English men and women in India, which has brought about the result that to-day the Church in India is hampered by its existing relation to the established Church at home.

One hears at times of the failure of missionary work in India. It is the prodigious success, not the failure, that is knocking at our doors. It is no longer a few Indian Christians who shelter under the protection of the Church of England, but an Indian Church, conscious of its fellowship of life, declaring that it cannot be treated as a subordinate partner. We should rejoice in this success, and co-operate trustfully with the bishops in furthering this expansion of life, proud to be the sons and daughters of that fellowship which has brought this to pass, and to be in India when so great a development is shaping itself, which, if handled in the spirit of fellowship, will make this century even

a greater age of Christian expansion than the past hundred years. In India we ought not to forget that we belong to a fellowship in Christ of which another great Bishop of Calcutta has expressed the character in the collect that is used in the service which is pre-eminently the sacrament and expression of fellowship: " O God, Who hast made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth."

It is, however, very easy for an English man or woman in India to be unconscious of this situation, theoretically and practically. An Englishman is proverbially averse to theory. He has generally no formed idea of the Church from which he can pass to a sense of his relationship to parochial life. He finds himself a member of a congregation, and therein he experiences his sense of Christian fellowship. The writer well remembers a debate in the Cambridge Union on Disestablishment more than thirty years ago. Speaker after speaker came within a very few minutes to, " Well, at any rate, in our parish at home." And he thinks that a number of Englishmen in India have at the back of their minds a similar thought, and that they find it very difficult to transfer their allegiance temporarily even to a similar condition in India.

The difficulty is undoubtedly there to such an extent that it is not a fair statement to have written of a similar condition of parochial experience in India. Even the parochial experience is entirely different. The individual member is not at home amid his natural neighbours, with whom he has grown up. He himself is only a bird of passage. Even if it happen that he is for a number of years in one place, the congregation and the chaplain are constantly changing like a

kaleidoscope. It demands a great deal of the individual to regard himself as other than an isolated Christian, much as he has found himself from time to time when on holiday in England. And the difficulty is yet greater, if he began life in India in the mufasal, where there were not regular Sunday services, or if on his first arrival in the country he slipped into the habit of non-church-going. Then he has lost the sense of fellowship: it exists vaguely in his mind, at the best, as something to be taken up again in England.

The English lady is in almost worse position. More often than her husband she has entered into some practical experience of Church fellowship in England; it has in some measure become part of her social life. In India she misses this. The parochial activities with which she has been familiar do not come to her notice here. A strange reticence keeps her in isolation. She may even go to church regularly, and yet not make friends in that way. When the children are too young for Sunday service, it requires the strength of conviction to persevere. Almost as soon as they can be taken to church they go home to England.

But where there is a desire for fellowship one cannot acquiesce in submission to the difficulty of expressing it. A beginning must be made; but it will not be made recklessly, with a ruthless attempt to break down social restraints, and to disregard the normal conditions of life in India. One of the fundamental principles of all Christian life is to do the duty that lies to hand. Even this does not mean that one should volunteer to teach in the Sunday school. Only a very few are suited to such difficult and particular work. It does mean that one will wish to know from the

padre of the station what is going on there. And the chaplain will have to be invited to give this information, for he will not volunteer it lest he should " put off " his church member.

There is an obvious risk of impertinence when a nobody attempts to make an apologia for a class of men. The excuse in this case is perhaps sufficient, that the chaplains cannot make it for themselves. What one wants to explain is that, as a body of clergymen, they have nothing like the fair chance that they get in England. They are shifted about so frequently that they have not the opportunity to become personally identified with the activities of an English parish, even if such activities were possible. Their congregations also are so changeable that there does not spring up the same sense of fellowship as is found in England between the laity and their parson.

In these conditions the padre's life is spiritually very isolated; and he cannot fall back upon the fellowship of his brother clergy, whom he scarcely ever meets. He lacks the stimulus that is invaluable to the clergy at home, who have their annual retreat, and the encouragement of associated organisations of spiritual work and parochial activities and experiments. He has therefore to look forward to his next furlough in England, aided by the kindly pressure of his bishop, to re-invigorate himself by a term at his former theological college, or by making use of some long vacation course of study at his university, much as the medical man in India looks forward to Scotland or England as an opportunity to revisit his hospital.

It is not by meeting the padre at the club that any English man or woman has the opportunity to learn

anything of the Church fellowship in India. He must be invited to the bungalow in the evening and by himself. It may not be the first thing that his host and hostess will learn from him, but in course of time they will get to know that, where one looks for it, there is almost certainly some fellowship to be done with the English people at the station. A young unmarried man very much values the atmosphere of an English home. More especially the English lady will find opportunities, which she will be able to use through social intercourse. It is saddening to think of the numbers who are missing something more satisfying than the club-life, and who fail to get into touch with one another, and so to help to fill out each other's lives. A young wife, straight out from England, wants a great deal more than introductions and advice on Indian servants. There is the Church that has been left behind, and how is she to find the Church in India under such strange conditions, unless she finds it in the person of an English lady who has been longer in the country ?

In these matters the chaplain may sometimes be of use, if anyone has told him that he would be willing to show a little attention to anyone that would care for it, or if a lady has expressed her willingness to be of any service that she is capable of if he should ever meet an English woman who would be glad of a little attention. But the padre cannot be of much use in this; what is wanted is that English men and women should be alive to the opportunities of the fellowship as their first responsibility to " go and do thou likewise." And these opportunities are often not seen because they are so indirect; they do not look directly spiritual.

But when one is looking out for the fellowship, it is the chaplain who can give information about the local corporate life, if he is asked to do so. It will be found that apart from the English men and women of the congregation, there is a large Anglo-Indian membership. There is probably a day school, and there may be several outstations. It will be an unusual station if there are not some people genuinely in need of material help, and some permanently sick folk who would feel a new sense of Church life if an English strange lady were to call because she went to the church. If one wanted to know of it, one could find out from this same source that there was a branch of the Mothers' Union, or that the Girls' Friendly Society was doing good work among the Anglo-Indian shop-girls.

Perhaps not on this first evening, but on another occasion, conversation is deliberately brought to the subject of the evangelising activities of the district. If by some unhappy chance the chaplain seems ignorant of what is being done, it is to be hoped that the layman will let him see that, however ignorant he himself may be of missionary work, he does not understand that a priest of God can be indifferent to it. It is, however, far more likely that the chaplain is conversant with this work, and interested in it, but has not talked about it until he was asked to do so.

Slowly or more quickly the Englishman realises the activity of the diocese, helped thereto by the fact that the chaplain has already been stationed in several parts of it. He grasps now that fellowship in the Church of Christ has brought him as an Englishman into spiritual relationship with Indian Christian con-

gregations, with educational work of various sorts, with some welfare activities for the general uplift of life, and with Anglo-Indian Christians who are members of his own congregation or who belong to the church of some near railway station. He determines to see something for himself; he visits a school; he and his wife make the acquaintance of some missionaries, and, what is perhaps to them a startling discovery, they find that the missionaries are cultured men and women, who can appreciate a nice bungalow, and who know books. Even if self-sacrificing absorption in their work has caused these refinements of a cultivated mind to lie fallow in some of them, there will be no mistaking their personal worth. The English man or woman by now realises that it is not a question to be decided individually whether the Church of England ought to attempt to Christianise Indians. The fellowship has decided that question, and its spirit has found expression in action. It will not be denied that the spirit is the spirit of Christ.

Thus by degrees the English man or woman in India learns the conditions of fellowship as they present themselves in these once strange surroundings. He hears opinions expressed, keenly perhaps, by missionaries and by Indian Christians, with which he does not agree; but in the spirit of fellowship he tries to see the truth and the experience that lie behind them. He knows that he is only part of a corporate life which has to face certain problems in the Christian spirit. Through using the local fellowship to gain knowledge of his duties, he learns wider responsibilities or realises their difficulties. Fortunately the whole of his Indian life has been equipping him to face these duties with

intelligence. He understands the nature of the problems as no one in England can grasp them. He realises that almost infinite patience is required, and that he has been placed in a position to contribute counsel. He grasps, too, as probably he had not done in England, that the fellowship does not exist for his sake, and for the good that it will do to him, but that he has been brought into it for its sake, and only for his own, in so far as he allows its spirit to enter into him.

At some stage during this educative process in the duty of fellowship the urgency of the domiciled community has forced itself upon notice. It is a charge upon Englishmen in India which, on the whole, they have faced with great generosity. It is largely a problem of education; it has always been also, and unfortunately it is rapidly becoming yet more, a problem of relief. Bishop Middleton and, to a greater degree, Bishop Cotton laid the foundations of the Anglo-Indian educational system. To-day, apart from large efforts that must be undertaken not only in India but also in England, the future of this part of the Church's fellowship is exceedingly dark. And they represent the permanent element of our English-speaking Church life in India. Once their economic outlook was favourable; but the situation has changed and will change rapidly. The English language is no longer a peculiar asset to them; educational requirements are satisfied annually by an increasing number of Indians; the Government cannot offer them special facilities. A rapidly increasing number of them must join what can only be called the submerged population, unless help is forthcoming altogether beyond the

present assistance. It lies upon the Church's fellowship in India to see to the local needs of these fellow-Christians, to investigate the necessity throughout India, and to bring the knowledge of the situation with convincing force, and with the weight of personal authority that cannot be set aside, to the attention of the whole Church of England. Indians, not especially Indian Christians, watch our treatment of these fellow-Christians. We cannot divest ourselves of this responsibility; it is the part of the fellowship to bear the burdens of the weak.

This chapter has attempted to face Churchmanship as active fellowship in the spirit of Christ. The reader cannot be more conscious than is the writer how inadequate is the attempt. But he has written in view of a condition of church life of amazing interest and complexity, which calls for the co-operation of all right-minded men and women, and which is insoluble apart from this co-operation. And just because this is only one chapter of a book, he has been able to omit much which must otherwise have found a place in it, and especially that whole range of fellowship's experience which consists of what one receives within oneself from the fellowship of life. The fellowship has been regarded from a limited point of view, almost as though it was exhausted by the bond which unites men and women of to-day. But underlying the whole treatment there has been the implication that this fellowship is Christian, not merely in the obvious sense that its members are followers of Christ's way of life, but in the deeper truth that it is the corporate appropriation of that life of Christ in which is found the spirit that animates life, and which, individually

taken hold of, is the source of active fellowship and of personal life. There is no such thing as an isolated individual Christian.

Nor can a chapter upon Church life in India be content to omit all reference to a wider issue than the immediate historical future of one's Church surroundings. The fellowship of life has past and future in one glowing present, if the word Christian has any meaning. It has a continuity of history, a heritage of life which has been and is the uplift of mankind. It has faced and overcome in the past problems of greater difficulty than meet it to-day in India. It has triumphed over them with the courage of Christ, inspiring the lives of men and of women with the spirit of noble service. And the fellowship of life embraces the future as well as the past. There is no end to life; the limited personality which now finds its unfolding in the experience and activity of fellowship is the gradual expansion of life into a more complete fellowship, of which as yet the test of experience does not aid us by checking or directing the imagination. The attempts of life now are the attainments that shall be.

English Churchmen in India share in a fellowship of varied character, rich in inherited gifts and treasures of life, potent with the opportunities of contributing to future expansion. To think individually of life is to lose the portion of the inheritance; it is the failure to realise the inevitability of the Church as the unfolding of that fullness of life which Jesus Christ came to give man. As we give of ourselves in fellowship, so we receive the increase of life within ourselves

III

THE ENGLISHMAN IN INDIA

By the Very Rev. JOSEPH GOUGH McCORMICK, DD., Dean of Manchester.

Take notice! This is not an essay: it is the rough impressions of an Englishman who was in the country for one cold weather. He hopes that he is not a "Paget M.P." He is at least equipped with some second-hand knowledge, for his forbears lived and worked in India, his mother was born there, his brother was killed on the frontier, and his sister is a nurse in a Kashmir hospital. Moreover, he is a parson, and if you are the sort of parson to whom men will talk, you get an insight into the real life and difficulties of people which is not likely to come to any other traveller. If he fails to understand, his failure springs from ignorance and not from lack of sympathy or admiration. Finally, he has no axe to grind—not even an economic one. The reader is now warned, and if he reads these fugitive impressions of a wandering and appreciative parson he does so at his peril. Bas!

I have been told to write about the Englishman in India. It is a title fat with importance. It should presuppose ten years' hard labour in the country as a minimum qualification for the writer. And yet the title is too lean. "Englishman" is not a big enough

word. It is true that I heard the pleasant burr of the Lancastrian from Bombay to Magherita and back again, and no doubt there are towns other than Manchester which are represented in India; but on the commercial side at least, the first impression which I carry away about the Englishman in India is that more often than not he is Scotch with a dash of Irish and a flavouring of Welsh. So when I use the word Englishman I shall mean Britisher, for the call of the East has been as potent north of the Tweed as south, and west of the Irish Channel as east.

I doubt if the Englishman in India recognises the amazing variety of his own species to be found in that country. So many of the occupations in India are in the nature of "services," that there is a tendency to shut up the European community into compartments which are nearly water-tight. In the small stations, of course, the compartments are not so water-tight, because there is but one club. There water, with its proper accessories, is to some extent a solvent. But in many stations, such as, *e.g.*, railway, mining, engineering, the whole European population is already in one compartment. If a man has been soldiering in India, it is quite possible for him to know practically nothing of large areas of the activities of his compatriots, and that even though he may have been twenty, twenty-five, thirty years in the country. So many men who live and work in India do not travel about it. When they go on leave they grudge every minute which is not spent in taking them by the quickest route to the ship for home. Nor do they commonly allow themselves much time to spare on their return. This does not only mean

that a man may live thirty years in India and never see the Taj. It also means that he may live thirty years in India and never see (in any adequate sense) a tea-planter or a coal-miner, or a manufacturer, or the white officers of a frontier regiment. And yet all these are as essential to the fabric of English life in India as is the white soldier or the member of the I.C.S.

I was fortunate enough to be sent to places each of which was typical of one side of the Englishman's life, and each of which was totally different from all the others. Dumped upon these differing communities, and of necessity brought into close contact with their several problems of living, the impression left upon my mind is that of a variety of service rendered to the country far wider than I had ever visualised at home. I had certainly seen our people too much as soldiers, Indian civilians, and a vague but inadequate number of commercial men. I did not at all realise either the extent or the importance of the work that is done by what I may call the " silent " services.

I

Let me first sketch the Englishman as I saw him, and then offer some criticisms and suggestions which spring from my observation. I shall only speak of what I did see. It is for this reason that I omit such important bodies as missionaries. I did not go south of Poona, so that the whole of Southern India must be left out, but I covered Northern India from the extreme north-east frontier in Assam to the extreme north-west frontier at Quetta.

I met the Englishman of India first of all, of course,

on the boat—for the most part a lean, clean-cut type of face and frame. There were some who ran to fat, for India is a country of extremes, even in the matter of adipose tissue. But the distinguishing characteristic which differentiated our fellow-passengers from a shipload of travellers was the spirit of what I may perhaps describe as weary keenness which prevailed. Somebody was always ready to do what might be wanted, and to do it as all part of the day's work. Intellectual, athletic, hedonistic, they were all the same. There was a thoroughness, too, with which, as soon as we entered the Red Sea, they entered upon the routine of tropical life. And this ordered activity of life presented me with one great difference between the Englishman in India and the Englishman at home. In India, as far as the men are concerned—and I shall say something about the women later on—there are no idlers. That might not strike an ordinary man as much as it strikes a parson. If you have worked at home amongst those who would travel first-class on an ocean liner, you will know that an appreciable proportion of your congregation do no work, or at least have no regular occupation. That makes it difficult to bring home Christianity to them; for work is an essential part of the Christian conception of life. A Christian idler is a contradiction in terms. No man —and no woman—has a right to live upon the industry of the community without making some return by services rendered. I do not say that the Englishman in India works because he is a Christian, but it is certainly easier to preach Christianity to him because he works. But I must pass on to the types which I saw in India itself.

(1) Most people associate Bombay chiefly with welcomes and good-byes. They don't get very much further than the Taj Hotel, the Yacht Club, and, perhaps, a drive to Malabar Hill. Bombay seems a place of endless junketings. But the passer-by gets no idea of the real Bombay, or of the Englishman who, very literally, sweats at his job all the year round. The long hours were a revelation to me, and I was only there in—save the mark !—the cold weather. It may be foolish to try to hustle the East, but the commercial East in the land where the Parsee flourishes is apt to see to all the hustling that is necessary if the commercial West is to hold its own. Leave out of account for the moment the official people, and here you have a large population of young Englishmen, living very often in " chummeries," and kept as hard at it as ever they would be in Manchester—and that in a climate which is calculated to take energy out of you at an extraordinarily rapid rate. The only way to keep fit is to add exercise to office-work; so you may see young England in Bombay hard at it at golf and tennis and riding before breakfast and in the scant hour or two of daylight when work is over. The soft seductive nights do not make life any easier if men would keep straight. The long string of gymkhanas, each allotted to some section of the community, spells the needs, and sometimes add to the difficulties, of the white man. It needs grit to make good in Bombay, and, when you think of the comparatively small percentage of failures, you feel that it is worth while for the Church to put its back into the problems of this Eastern business life.

(2) Or take a week's journey to the north-eastern

corners of India, where Assam looks towards Thibet on the north and Burma on the east. There you will find amongst the tea-planters a totally different type. And no wonder. The life is as different from the life of Bombay as the life of a cattle-rancher is different from that of a clerk on an office stool. Here you get for the most part a Public School type—not university : the tea companies like to catch them young. Their work and play alike lies in the open air. In the scattered bungalows of the tea-gardens these young fellows live for the most part in couples in their early days, or in their own bungalows if they are managers. They direct and order the imported coolies on the gardens, and very often have to father and mother them as well between whiles. In the cold weather they ride, walk, bicycle, or, if lucky, motor, to the clubs for polo, tennis, and other recreation. But the life is essentially lonely, and in the wet season they stew indoors and out alike in a perpetual Turkish bath, the air of which is laden with every kind of beastly insect. And yet they are as cheery and jolly a lot of fine fellows as you could wish to see. Their hospitality is proverbial, and, indeed, to the unseasoned digestion of the visitor, overpowering. Conditions of living might be improved, and more particularly it would be well if the tea companies made provision for earlier hopes of marriage, for it is not fair to claim the whole youth of a man with but a distant hope of being able to marry. The strain is too great. But I take my hat off to our women-folk in Assam. Many stick it out with their husbands all through the hot weather, and a pluckier, cheerier lot it would be hard to find; while the good they do in the community

is beyond words. And cheek by jowl with the tea-planters you find the oil men—mostly Scotsmen—sinking their wells in virgin jungle, or the Staffordshire coal-miners working their mines in the wild foothills of the Naga country. All these, whether they are oil-experts from the laboratories at home, or Glasgow engineers, must be prepared for any jungle happening in this teeming country, where the lamps of your bumping Ford may at any corner throw into startling relief the striped tiger who stands blinking stupidly at the glare.

(3) Or leave the open-air life of Assam, or the crowded jute-mills of Calcutta, and go to Delhi. Bless my soul, you are in a different world! Here are the men about whom we hear something at home. Here the great ones of the Indian earth do congregate. Viceroys and Commanders-in-Chief pass across the stage with appropriate pageantry—working, be it observed, just a little harder than most other people. Here staffs function, which, according to the novelists, means to scintillate, but, according to the experience of one traveller, means to be adequate for all causes at a moment's notice. Here, too, at the right season of the year are all the heads of the departments—the men who govern India. Here sits the Legislature, in which you may study the Englishman employed upon the most difficult, the most courageous, in some ways the most thankless, and, in ultimate aim, the most noble task he has ever attempted—and that is the gradual welding into one self-governing nation of a continent of different nationalities accustomed for many centuries to foreign rule. But the soldier and the Indian civilian are not the only Englishmen in Delhi. Here you have

your great educational and medical establishments, such as the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, and the schools of nursing so particularly the care of the present Vice-Reine. If in the capital of the old Moghuls you get a glimpse of Englishmen as a race of rulers, you get a picture of a very different stamp of ruler which, from the point of view of the well-being of the community, needs to fear no comparisons with the past.

(4) From Delhi I was pitchforked into Waziristan, if you can use so violent a term of the leisurely experience of railway travelling in India. And here you hit another type of Englishman totally different from all the rest. In that barren, stony, and grandly rugged land you meet the men who make possible peace, and sometimes wealth, and sometimes dear life itself, for countless thousands of the dwellers in the plain. These are the men who keep the frontier, and the law of the frontier is one for everybody who lives there: "On the frontier you keep what you can—including your life." These men live under war conditions. Death may leap at them from any nullah by the roadside. They freeze in winter and grill on a stony gridiron in the summer. They watch over their Indian regiments, Sikhs, Pathans, Gourkhas, and what not. Their men are their children, and in one and the same breath they will curse the frontier and tell you there is no place like it, and that they wouldn't serve anywhere else in India for untold lakhs of rupees. I preached to them—though without the usual adjuncts—both at the base at D.I.K. and in Waziristan itself; but, especially in the camp at Manzai, I felt that I had rather listen to them. Fine stuff this, and oh

that I could put some of our wasters and shirkers and jelly-backs at home on to the road to Jandola for a week or two!

(5) From the frontier to a railway centre. Imagine the Grand Trunk Road as you have it so wonderfully etched by Mr. Rudyard Kipling. On the right-hand side, as you travel up from Calcutta, the Ghats rising steeply from the plain, crowned by Paresenath, the sacred mountain of the Jains, and on the left, in the plain itself, the great Jaria and Sijua coal-fields. And here, again, another type of Englishman. A business man? Yes, but of a different order from the office-man of Calcutta or Bombay. Here are the coal men at grips with the executive problems of coal-mining under conditions as far removed as could possibly be imagined from Durham or Lancashire or South Wales. The good employer at home makes the well-being of his employees his anxious care, but, as far as I was able to judge, his anxieties are meagre and his cares of the armchair variety compared with the paternal, judicial, commercial and climatic worries of the employer in India. Take one point. Good people in India are rightly anxious about the problem of women-labour in the mines. So reforms are sketched out at the conference table and on paper. Then you find yourself confronted with the fact that the Indian coolie will not leave his wife above ground while he goes down into the mine. Your scheme of reform is apt to find itself wrecked at the outset. Or take another point. The difficulty of making bricks without straw is proverbial. But there is plenty of "straw" in India. The difficulty is to find the stuff of sufficient reliability to bind the straw. And that difficulty is

by no means confined to the men at the top. Again, I take off my hat to the subordinates, whether in the coal-mines or on the railways. In every rank the Englishman in India has constantly to be accommodating himself to the unexpected. Our labour troubles at home we know, but at least we know where we are. In India everyone from top to bottom has, not merely in the great emergencies, but constantly to be making shift with what he's got. And what he has got is often as unknown a quantity as *x*. At a moment's notice he has to devise expedients, to fill gaps, to create, to rearrange. And the point is that he does it, whether he is an engine-driver or a superintendent, a mine-manager or a head-ganger. But it is a heart-breaking job. And over all these communities presides the tutelary deity known as the D.C. With wide powers, consulted by everybody, whether about railways, mines, churches, or the amenities of social precedences, etc., he needs a cool head and a wise judgment if he is to shepherd aright the variegated community given into his charge. Does any other country breed this type of man as satisfactorily as our Indian Civil Service?

(6) One place more. At the end of my work I was unexpectedly sent to what proved to be a very hectic and, to me, very wonderful week-end at Quetta and the Staff College. It took me five or six days to get there from my railway centre. I began in the thinnest summer clothing and longed for less. I ended in thick woollens and desired more. Incidentally I passed over part of the Scindh desert in a high wind, and knew the pleasures of eating sand and breathing sand and adding sand to my raiment both inside and out—

and all this merely in the cold weather, and without that heat which can make the Scindh desert a very pretty representation of the infernal regions. I found myself on arrival on a high-level plain, tucked away amidst snow-covered mountains. There I had to work chiefly at the Staff College. "Work" is the right word for that strenuous life. Here you get the young brains of the Army, taught by the brains that are only slightly less young. The immediate problems before them are urgent enough—to be prepared with well-thought-out schemes for any of the thunderbolts which may burst down the historic pathways of invasion from the north. But the frontier can become too absorbing. So the horizon is deliberately made as wide as the whole problem of soldiering throughout the world. Everything that can inform the mind and whet the appetite for military efficiency is set before these picked men. I have never had so attentive and alert an audience as I was privileged to address at the Staff College. Nor had I realised before how wide must be the interests of the Staff Officer. From the study of the great problems of morale—linked as we know now they must be, not merely to professional armies but to every class in the community—to the problems of camouflage and of the moving of bullock-wagons, everything is grist that comes to this mill. To meet the picked men who were engaged in the study of the problems of soldiering, and to live, even for a few days, in that atmosphere of hard work, of intellectual alertness, and of delightful good-fellowship, was pure joy Teachers formed a band of brothers, and let me recommend any who are overpressed with the common conviction that the English are a stupid race to pay

a visit to the Staff College at Quetta. Here conspicuously, too, in this atmosphere of ability, you got the conviction that it is ultimately character that counts.

(7) Before I close this brief sketch of types of Englishmen in India, I want to say one word about two classes of professional men who are to be found everywhere. Walk round any of the older churches in the big towns, or indeed anywhere. One fact will strike the visitor as different from anything he will see in England. The inscriptions on the memorials to those who have died are illuminating. "In memory of John Smith, drowned while crossing the River Indus, aged twenty-one"; "of Henry Jones, died of cholera, aged twenty-three"; "of Annie James, carried off by fever, within three weeks of landing at Bombay, and a fortnight after her marriage, aged twenty." India is a country of sudden death. Sickness, severe and perhaps fatal, may lurk in your next meal. Recurrent malaria may sap your vitality. And all the time the work has got to be done. So the one man who is indispensable to the Englishman in India is the doctor. He has a harder, if more picturesque, life than his confrère at home. Standing as he does a little outside the other services, and passing through the barriers which divide service from service, he is often the confidant, the guide, as well as the healer of the people to whom he ministers. In some places he has wide powers, as, for instance, in Assam, where he very rightly enjoys a position of independence, and where his word is law as far as the physical welfare of the coolies is concerned. Speaking of him as I found him, I can only say that he does very great credit to his profession and to his country. In talking over the

things which matter, the springs of will and character which, important enough everywhere, are trebly important in the East, the problems of living, and all those things which must interest a parson, I found that his judgment, where I could check it, was amazingly sound and accurate, and based upon what was evidently real knowledge both of problems and of men.

The other special class is also connected with the churches—I mean the clergy. I do not think that people in India realise the immense difficulties of the parson's life in India. It is easy enough, of course, to do the routine services—though in some of the vast and scattered charges the physical labour is great, and the mere fitting in of services no small task. If you only have a service once a month at your particular station, it needs some effort of the imagination to see that the parson may be having a continuous round. But the difficulties I mean are the difficulties of being a good parson. All clergymen are not preachers, and much of the best work at home is done by the gradual influence of a ministry in one place extending over a considerable number of years. But to the man who has the pastoral rather than the preaching gift, nothing is more disheartening than the way in which his congregation in many places entirely changes in a couple of years. It is heart-breaking. Then there is the club-life at the stations. It is amazingly difficult to steer between the Scylla of an anti-club parochialism and the Charybdis of a mere club loitering. To be hail-fellow-well-met, and yet so to act that the other fellows feel that it is really *well* met when they meet you, takes a good heart and a strong head. And, again, there is the loneliness. The laity very properly expect

that the clergy should supply some driving force of spiritual content or inspiration. It is right that they should also realise how, compared with the clergy at home, the lack of other clerical brethren in his immediate neighbourhood deprives the priest in India of some of the most potent helps in his own spiritual life. And the routine work is deadly official. I came across one man who, at the expenditure of a vast amount of time, had to get out a return about the condition of the clothing of the *malis* of all the cemeteries in an area as big as several English counties. He was a Government official, and it was a Government return. And that sort of thing is soul-destroying. I do not think that the laity in India really appreciate the spiritual difficulties of their clergy. But, in spite of those difficulties, I was struck by the keenness and the hard work, and in many cases the real spiritual vitality which the clergy showed. Men who had with difficulty got to know a certain number of their congregation, only to find them moving away just when they might hope for some fruit of their labours, yet still trying to get to know the new people and repeating the same process; and men who are consciously trying to do their best in the social life, while they do not forget the object of their calling; and men who are striving by every means to keep alight the flame of spiritual inspiration in their hearts in order that they might be able to help their people—I met some of them all. And if I were to make one criticism of a general character about the relations between the laity and the clergy, it would be that the laity are apt to expect too much from the clergy and to back them up too little. After all, it is true of

every gift from man to man, beyond cash, that what you want to get from a man you must help him to give.

There are many classes in the community whom I have left out, notably the missionaries, the schoolmasters and mistresses, whose magnificent work under most trying conditions is really one of the glories of our rule, the splendid N.C.O.'s and privates of our English regiments; but I had no opportunities of studying them in bulk. But I saw enough of them and heard enough to make the appreciation which I have written above quite deliberate.

I close this part of my paper by some reiteration. I do not think that the average Englishman in India realises how many quite distinct types of himself there are. I am quite sure that the Englishman at home does not realise either the variety or the pressure of the work that is done in India. He pictures India in terms of soldier men, I.C.S., Society after the fashion of "Plain Tales from the Hills," a lordly and pleasant life, some vague admixture of commerce mostly conducted by "Nabobs," and a fat pension upon which to retire at a comparatively early age. I am not sure that this ignorance is not one of the secrets of what success we do attain, because the generality of people at home know so little that they leave things more or less in the hands of those who do know something.

II

Any paper such as I have written would have little value beyond the small informative importance of the impressions which I have recorded above, unless it

contained also something in the nature of criticism, both negative and positive. Let me then offer one or two pieces of negative criticism first. I repeat that I offer them as the fugitive impressions of a traveller, but as a traveller who was brought into most intimate relations with all sorts and classes of our countrymen in India. Men and women certainly spoke freely enough to me about their lives, and much that my own observation led me to suspect to be true was more than confirmed by what people who made their lives in the country told me about their own difficulties and problems.

(1) And first. The division into water-tight compartments of the services and social grades in India is, to a certain extent, inevitable. It seems also in many ways to be harmful. The results are sometimes absurd, especially in the bigger towns. The man of education, birth, and refinement who happens to be in the ancient and honourable occupation of bookselling finds himself ineligible for certain clubs, because he has not reached what is supposed to be the superior status of a merchant. The same type of thing, of course, is to be found in England, but it does not press nearly so hardly on individuals, for the lines of cleavage are far more blurred. But in India, where you have a small community living in a foreign land, with all sorts of delicate questions as to definitions of "European," the hardship is far greater and the damage to the prestige of the Sahib in general is real. But this is only one illustration of a general temper which appears more pronounced in India than it does at home. If you are military you are military; if you are "railway" you are "railway," and so on. In times of

crisis, of course, all this is swept away. The records for mutual generosity, loyalty, and self-sacrificing helpfulness of the English community are truly magnificent. But as far as I have seen I am quite sure that the excessive segregation into sharply defined sets is, on the whole, harmful under the peculiar conditions of our life abroad.

And arising immediately out of this segregation is the development of social priority within the several sets. This is markedly noticeable amongst the women. In regiments, of course, it is inevitable that great importance should attach to the position of the Colonel's Mem-Sahib; but not in this service only, but in all the services, the cramping effect upon the initiative of the other Mem-Sahibs is evident. Again and again, when anything was suggested, the type of answer that we missioners got was " Yes, that is a very good thing and ought to be done, and if you can get Mrs. —— (the *Burra* Mem-Sahib) to take it up, I will gladly help." But unless the initiative were taken by the *Burra* Mem-Sahib, it would be regarded as almost indecent for anybody else to move in the matter. *Burra* is a very, very big word in India. The reason why so much good is done is because so many of the *Burra* Mem-Sahibs do really play up. Whether in the regiment, the commercial station or the railway centre, they do put themselves out to help forward anything for the general well-being of the community. But where they fail I hazard the criticism that there is rather too great a tendency to regard the battle as already lost, too little of the spirit which says, " This thing has got to be done; if nobody else will do it, I will."

(2) One more negative criticism may be offered. If

efficiency is the test to which every service must submit, there is a real danger lest the gods of efficiency should be exalted over the gods of ultimate purpose. "Where there is no vision the people perish" is ultimately as true of a tramway company as it is of the British Cabinet. The Englishman is, of course, proverbially shy of visions. If a man talks about them too much he will be labelled a crank, or, under certain tongue-loosing circumstances, suspected of over-stimulation. But in India, added to these inhibitions, there is the perpetually asserted predominance of the "spiritual" in Indian culture and ideas. I do not doubt for one moment that there is a great deal of truth in the statement that the genius of India is largely spiritual, and can teach us very much indeed. But I am sure, also, that a great deal of nonsense is talked about the spiritual contribution which India can make to the Empire. A lecture under that title was advertised a little time ago in England, and it consisted of nothing but nebulous theories about the occult; and the average Englishman says: "If that be 'spiritual,' for pity's sake let me be practical!" He sees religions at work about him of which he wishes to speak with all due respect, and of which he does not pretend to make a profound study, and he says: "If these are 'spiritual' religions, let me confine my religion to teaching me to be just and honest, and a doer of my job to the best of my ability." So he cleaves to the good which he sees, and is inevitably led to disparage the spiritual element in his own religion. But that is a tragedy. He is apt to forget that the whole basis of Christianity is spiritual, that it offers a spiritual explanation of life, and that duty

towards God is as much a part of it as duty towards your neighbour. I venture to think that the Englishman in India does not press his own virtues to their logical conclusion. After all, why exactly shouldn't we be unjust, and take bribes, and not do a good day's work? The answer which many an average Englishman would give is one of those formulæ so dear to his public-school heart: "Well . . . er . . . you know . . . that sort of thing isn't done." Yes, but why isn't it done? And the ultimate answer is written in the first chapter of Genesis, and was blazoned before the world by Christ. It is that man is made in the image of God, and to do any of these things is to be a traitor to your very being. It is this side of life which is neglected at home, but which I thought was almost deliberately pushed aside by many of our splendid people in India.

Let me pass in conclusion to three constructive criticisms. I link them to the words Fellowship, Practice, and Prestige.

(1) *Fellowship*.—If our community in India is segregated, and, I admit, inevitably segregated more than is the case in England, deliberate effort is necessary to find common ground. You will expect me to say that that common ground is to be found in our religion. And I do say so most emphatically. The Church is the common ground. But when I say "the Church," I do not at all mean the four walls of a building. I mean the Church in the community, the community in the Church. The Church should be the centre of all movements for the well-being and good-fellowship of the English community, and the rallying-ground of crusades for every fine and decent thing. Then,

at once, with that tendency which I have already remarked to leave every man to run his own job, it is said: "Let the parson lead us in all these enterprises of our communal fellowship. Let him put himself at the head of all these movements for the general well-being." But stop a moment! Is every parson a born leader of men? I was constantly reminded in India that the Englishmen in the different services are all picked men. But as far as intellectual ability is concerned, can you say that of the parson in every station throughout India? Why should he be expected to have the driving force necessary to dominate communities of picked men? Some can and do. It is unreasonable to expect that all could. The fact is that this business must not be left to the parson. Not only the ritual, but the results of our religion are a communal obligation—an obligation of a faith the two master-words of which are Father-God and Brother-Man. This is as much the concern of the Deputy Commissioner and the tea-planter, and the mine-ganger and the Colonel's lady as it is of the parson. It will break down the disadvantages of the water-tight system without impairing the efficiency of the different services if there is common ground upon which all can meet, and that common ground may well be the practice in common of a sane Christianity by men in a world of men. The keynote of our religion in this respect is Fellowship.

(2) *Practice.*—The over-emphasis upon efficiency about which I have spoken above is, of course, not to be countered in the least either by inefficiency in performance or slackness in will-power. Aspiration is not a substitute for action; nor is it difficult to see that

it is better to be a workman than a wind-bag. But the way to strengthen the spiritual side of our life and work is the practice of the doctrine of the Incarnation. You start with the undoubted fact that the vital things which govern all life are spiritual and must be so. But you cannot know any spiritual truth until that truth is made incarnate in some act communicable to another person. Justice is an attribute of God Himself, but man can only know justice if somebody is just as between A and B. What was *the* Incarnation after all? It was the clothing of the God-idea in such fabric as man could grasp. When, therefore, men find themselves stationed in lonely and remote places, or beset by the temptations of power or of pleasure, that which gives meaning to life and makes it sane and clean and satisfying is not to deny the value of spirit or to fall back upon the barren routine of doing a particular job as well as possible, but to recognise that we are upon the earth as incarnation of spiritual truths. The image of God! By practising kindliness, courage, good cheer, love, discipline, worship and the rest, we are bringing these things to birth as truly as do the man and woman who beget and bear a child. The Englishman in India sees so keenly the value of practice in his service, and emphasises so frequently the value of so intangible and spiritual a matter as prestige, that he might well be the prophet of the Empire in the realm of the practice of Incarnation.

(3) *Prestige.*—From Tilbury, through India, to Tilbury again, the word " prestige " resounded in our ears. Some lamented its decline; some foretold its resuscitation in a new form. All alike agreed on its

supreme importance. But the cry you met everywhere was "Send us pukkha Sahibs!" If a white face gives the title of Sahib, then each bearer of a white face carries the prestige of Sahib in his own hands. Some of our people, notably the officers of the Indian army, tea-planters, administrators, and the like, and, of course, missionaries are brought so close to our Indian fellow-subjects that there is no need to remind them of the obligations of Sahib-hood. And how splendidly, for the most part, they carry them out! But I could not help being struck by the way in which some sections seemed to feel themselves remote from and unconcerned with the Indian population. Yet the Indians see and the Indians know. When some young fellow, perhaps fresh from home, perhaps ignorant and unaccustomed to power, does not behave as a Sahib ought, the harm that he does is fifty times greater than the harm he would do at home. A few men who, because their work lies mainly amongst their own race, will not take the trouble to learn the A B C of Indian thoughts and prejudices, and consequently do and say the things which no Sahib in India should either do or say, make the work of all the rest infinitely more difficult. The women of our race in India have in reality a far more difficult time than they have at home. What not only our men, but our rule, owes to them it is difficult to over-estimate. Our missioners again and again spoke of the splendid specimens of English womanhood whom they met—I certainly not least. But when some small silly set of women act as though they thought that India and its life was created for their amusement, they stab the womanhood of England cruelly deep, because they, too, are of the Sahib-folk.

In spite of what is written about the life of hill stations and the rest, I am sure that the proportion of the merely frivolous is no greater in India than it is at home. The harm it does must, from the necessities of the case, be much greater. After all, we have the highest possible authority for a very scrupulous regard for the results of our actions upon others, even though those actions may awaken in ourselves no sense whatever of wrong-doing. It is recorded of Christ that when He was about to do one of His works, He prefaced it by a public address to God, and said, " Because of the people which stand by I said it." For Himself He had no need, and yet " because of the people which stand by " He said it. That motto is as applicable in London, Glasgow, and Manchester as it is in Bombay, Simla, and Assam. East and West, the necessity of remembering our relationship to the people who stand by is equally obligatory; but it happens from the facts of the situation that in India there are more people who stand by, and they are more interested, and the Englishman stands upon a much more public platform. That fact he generally recognises. I am instituting no comparison between the Englishman in India and at home. If I did so, I do not think it would be to the advantage of the Englishman at home. But, in a country where you are a Sahib, the faults of the few are proclaimed to high heaven by every ill-wisher, and in some vital matters outweigh much of the good that is done by the many. At least this much may be said for certain—that whether for such matters as church-going, or social life, or the treatment of prejudices of other races, it would be no bad thing to find this motto on the mantelpiece of every bungalow

of the Englishman in India, "Because of the people which stand by . . ."

I end in the temper of mind into which I generally fall when I think of the splendid men and women I got to know: I wish that most of us were as good as the Englishman in India. God bless him!

IV

THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

By the Rev. EDGAR PRIESTLEY SWAIN, M.A., Vicar of Putney and Hon. Chaplain to the Bishop of Birmingham.

I

A man need not be a cynic, but only possess some little knowledge of his fellow-creatures, who should prophesy that this chapter will find fewer readers than several others in this book. The temptation to pass it over will be found irresistible by many. This may be no great matter for regret in the present instance, I readily agree, but the action is a symptom of a state of mind which not so easily escapes some measure of criticism. The subject of "Foreign Missions" fails to attract and interest, and men wax impatient at the mere mention of it. The cause is hardly at all believed in, and in any case it is usually considered dull.

The missionary enterprise is undertaken in obedience to the missionary command. It is quite beside the point to cast doubt upon the accuracy of this or that text, or to question the reliability on critical grounds of the ending of this or that Gospel; it is not a matter of texts. For there can be no doubt that the first members of the Christian Church knew themselves to be under the missionary command as clearly and immediately as under the command of personal purity,

and they acted accordingly without question and without delay. The thing had got to be done because they had been told to do it, and there was the end of it. But there was much more to be said than this, and what is less commonly perceived. The missionary enterprise is an absolutely necessary result of the Christian faith. It is not that men have said that Christianity is a very agreeable, useful, and helpful religion, and therefore we will try and persuade others to accept it, or that other religions are inferior to Christianity, and therefore we will try and supplant them by it. Rather it is that the Christian faith being what it is, there is nothing to be done but to try and spread it. It is of the essence of the Christian doctrine of God. If there is one idea, more than any other, which is fundamental to the Christian revelation, it is the Fatherhood of God, not limited, but universal. The universal Fatherhood of God means the universal sonship of men and the universal brotherhood of men. God is the Father of the Chinaman and the negro, or else He is not the Father of the Englishman, unless, indeed, we believe, as many people appear to do, that He only cares for certain races and nations, with a special preference for Englishmen. Only in that case we should not be Christians; we should believe in a God who resembled an Eastern potentate with violent prejudices and fancies. Christ came for all or for none, and if the former, then people have a right to be told about it. "Foreign Missions," as they are called, are inevitable as long as there are such people as Christians. I can perfectly understand and cordially sympathise with people who for one reason or another have rejected the Christian faith dis-

believing in Missions; the people I cannot understand are those who still make the Christian profession yet say that "Missions to the heathen are all nonsense and waste of time." Archbishop Temple it was, I think, who said once, "I very much doubt if a man who neither prays for Missions, nor gives to Missions, nor cares for Missions, can call himself a Christian at all." This, then, is the *raison d'être* of the missionary enterprise; it is the necessary outcome and accompaniment of the Christian doctrine of God and belief in the Incarnation, Cross, and Resurrection.

The Church was formed for this purpose, and still exists for precisely the same purpose. It is not a society of well-disposed and pious people who happen to like the Book of Common Prayer and Hymns Ancient and Modern (old edition). "The whole business of the whole Church is to preach the whole Gospel to the whole world."* All this, of course, is plain and platitudinous to numbers of people, but it is far from being so, even at this time of day, to much greater numbers. We have got desperately comfortable, and desperately dull of vision in the Church of England, whether we live in India or in England. Sometimes men speak as if the Churchman in India was very much inferior in enthusiasm and sense of religious duty to the Churchman in England. There is no ground for this whatever; he is much the same wherever he is located. The present Metropolitan, ever eager to hurry to the defence of his spiritual children, has written as follows: "Whereas in England the amount contributed per head of the nominally Anglican population is 8s. 1d., in India it is 9s. 9d. Any argument

* Bishop of Lichfield.

based on the supposition that the European and Anglican community in India is doing less to support religious work than are their fellow-Anglicans in England rests upon an insecure foundation, for the very opposite is the case."* We give the Metropolitan his point, merely remarking that neither side in the competition appears to have anything particular to boast about. No, we are true to type, wherever we are found, whether it be in the duty of almsgiving, or the duty of public worship, or in the duty of vision. For the most part, in so far as we are interested in religion at all, it is in the smaller matters, and the big things move us not at all; we hardly see them. "The real subject which unites in vehement cohesion the body of 'great central sober Churchmanship' is the repelling of an attack on the Establishment."† We filled the town hall for this purpose in the old days, but the annual missionary meeting leaves us cold and perhaps sarcastic. Many of us think that God is to be found in, or pleased by, services rather than service; and so we pay week by week our tribute of respectable morning service, or bright and hearty evening service, and then wonder why it is we know so little about the Beauty of God. Dr. George Adam Smith says in his commentary on Isaiah, "God's causes are never destroyed by being blown up, but only by being sat upon." It is a lugubrious reflection that it is not the open enemy who has done or still does the damage to the missionary enterprise, which, as we have seen, is God's cause; it is the "familiar friend," the body of ordinary Christians who quietly, stolidly,

* *Calcutta Diocesan Record*, May, 1923.

† C. E. Osborne, "Religion and the World Crisis," p. 252.

determinedly sit on the whole thing. "A tame Church is more non-Christian than a fanatical one."*

The heart of the white Christian is shut towards his brown brother. Poor brown brother!

II

If there is any truth (and I do not see that they can be gainsaid) in the above contentions—namely, (1) that Missions are an inevitable result of the Christian premises, and (2) that they are, for the most part, ignored or opposed by English Christians, then plainly there must be some explanation. An old schoolfellow of mine, who died before a quarter of what we expected to be his life's work was done, once wrote, "The supreme reason why the Church is lacking in missionary enthusiasm is that she has never had a missionary ministry."† It is certainly true that the spiritual level of any congregation or parish hardly if ever rises above the level of its clergy, and we must take our full share of that responsibility. But quite candidly there is a great deal more to be said than that; the whole subject does, indeed, bristle with difficulties for the ordinary man, and though this is not the occasion for apologetics, some things, commonplaces to many readers, must here be said on these difficulties.

(1) The universality of Christianity, noted above, in its essential quality, its outlook, its claims, has always been found a stumbling-block. It is a very big idea, and big ideas are too big for many men. Rome was more than willing to offer Christ a place in

* C. E. Osborne, "Religion and the World Crisis," p. 132.

† "The Life of Martyn Trafford" (S.C.M.), p. 92.

her well-stocked Pantheon, and India is almost eagerly ready to follow her example. There are not wanting those, within the Christian community, who urge that the invitation should be accepted, forgetting the rock from whence they are hewn. Of this more in a moment. We " good Church-of-England people " still in large numbers cling to the idea of the Church as the state organised for purposes of religion, or as a philanthropic organisation for spreading the knowledge and encouraging the practice of Christian ethics, or as a pious club composed of people who like to pray and sing together in the same way, or as an organisation for teaching decent and civilised people a little about God. But surely we who believe in the universality of Christianity, and therefore in Foreign Missions, may justifiably claim that the spirit of the age is on our side. " Even on economic and political grounds it is apparent that the old insular dream of creating a little Eden here in England, of treating this island as if it were a self-contained city-state or the motherland of a dominant race, has faded. Exclusiveness is no longer a feasible solution for our problems—it never was a Christian one. Men and nations have loved to shut themselves up in such little safe prison-houses away from the world with its perilous freedom." But it cannot be done. Our very money-making and comfort teach us better. There is political disturbance in Germany or Russia, or a failure of the monsoon in India, or of the cotton-crop here or the wheat-harvest there, and our prosperity and wealth are affected. " If one member suffer all the members suffer with it." Or, more wonderful still, there is a calamitous earthquake in Japan and the whole world immediately

rushes to the assistance of her afflicted people. Why? Simply, I suppose, because we cannot help ourselves. They are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, members of the great human family. Is it in reason possible to think that in religion alone we must be divided? Is it in reason possible to doubt that the destiny here as everywhere else is unity?

(2) "But, after all, these people have a very good religion of their own. Why worry them with ours?" So men say. We cannot here embark upon a discussion on comparative religions.* But once again protest must be entered, though it be for the thousandth time, and simply because one heard it again and again in India, against the idea that those of us who believe in the supremacy of Christianity deny that there is "good in all religions." The old idea that your religious faith was to be compared with something that you swallowed like a chocolate and that if you swallowed the wrong one it would poison you, has been given up by missionaries generations ago—it really has, however much it may surprise some readers. One would be ashamed to write it were it not that people still seem to think we believe it. The point is not whether there is good in all religions, but which is the best religion, or, as we should prefer to put it, which is the truest and

* A good introduction to the subject for those interested is "Some Alternatives to Jesus Christ," by J. L. Johnston (Longmans, Green and Co.), price 5s. There is a discussion on the strength and weakness of Mohammedanism (which is omitted from the scope of Mr. Johnston's book) in Bishop Montgomery's "George Alfred Lefroy," an intensely interesting book published by the same firm. Those who wished to pursue the subject more deeply would turn, I suppose, to the "Religious Quest of India" series, edited by Dr. J. N. Farquhar of Calcutta.

fullest revelation of God, and of the proper relations between God and man? Truth is the thing that matters. And to those, whether Indian or English, who are conscious of the attraction of and the values in the higher forms of Hinduism and Buddhism—and there undeniably is such attraction and value—the word must be said that there is also such a thing as the duty of decision in man's thought about God. It is a temptation to many minds in these days to wander about in vague ideals and vague ideas and shirk decision and venture. If we are seriously conscious of the attractions of the higher Pantheism, in competition with Christianity in its claim upon our allegiance, the only thing to do is to get down to it with books and wet towels, and see what can be done about it. It is better to make a wrong decision than no decision, seriously I write it.

But, on the other hand, let us sharply take up on the instant the glib talker who says "one religion is as good as another." We must quite emphatically insist that like is compared with like, and not, as is too often the case, the best that is to be found in Hinduism with the worst that can be found in Christianity, whether in the realm of thought or of action. For my own part, I have not the slightest shadow of a doubt where the advantage lies in any comparison; but that, after all, is only my opinion, and you will say that I am prejudiced and anyhow I have made my decision. Only I wish this. I wish that when people have read a no doubt excellent and true book on the excellences and truths of Hinduism, they could be taken at once to witness the slaughter of the goats outside the temple of Kali in Calcutta, and look at the pilgrims as

they are taken in by the priests to see the image of the goddess within. Or I wish (if they could stand it) that they should go straight away and spend a day or two in the sacred city of Benares, and go up and down the streets and in and out of the temples, and scrutinise closely the faces of the priests and temple attendants, and watch the hermits, ascetics, and holy men, and go down to the river in the early morning and observe the ceremonies of religion in the sacred river, and look carefully with eyes of a man at the poor pilgrims as, bewildered, they are scurried hither and thither by the priests, and hurried through the necessary formulas and acts. This is it for which they have tramped so many weary miles and spent all they possessed. Poor brown brother! Poor brown brother! How anyone can gaze on such a scene unmoved passes the powers of comprehension. Our friend the philosophic Hindoo will tell us that all this is no necessary part of Hinduism, but that the simple must have their simple things provided for them, and our reply shall be that we have heard of One, one of Whose credentials was that the poor were preached to, and of Whom it was reported that the common people heard Him gladly.

Our less philosophic Englishman will say, "It's good enough for them." That is a lie. Nothing is good enough for the children of men but the Truth, for they are the children of God.

* * * * *

If one compares Christianity with these other religions, by no means ignoring, but, on the contrary, giving full weight to their excellences, surely it is as the glad and freshening air of heaven after a day in a stuffy house, as the thrill and wonder of a wide human

fellowship contrasted with that narrow and niggardly love that sees no further than its own front door.

(3) A word, if only a word, must be added on the subject of ethics. No serious attempt has been made to set Mohammedanism as an ethical system in competition with Christianity, but the same cannot be said about Hinduism. There an attempt has been made, half-hearted, no doubt, to make a comparison, and we have heard here and there a good deal of loose talk about the virtues of the Hindu ethical system. We will readily allow that the passive virtues, such as long-suffering self-discipline, non-resistance to evil, are admired and practised in the East, but they are taught, admired, and practised in the Christian scheme also. It cannot be doubted that when India is converted she will give great impetus in this direction. The caste system, too, in spite of the terrible and crushing weight with which it falls upon the lower classes, is not without certain elements of ethical value. "Where the system of caste, considered as a social institution, has been chiefly wrong, has been in its fixing of men to a particular position of society from which there is no escape, whatever may be their individual capacity. . . . There has been, on the other hand, a strong sense of the sacredness of the ties that bind individual to individual within their more restricted communities."*

But the brotherhood of the caste system is merely a poor and limited thing compared with the ideal of Christian brotherhood, however feebly the Christian

* "Hindu Ethics: a Historical and Critical Essay," by John McKenzie, in which the whole subject is thoroughly dealt with.

community may have succeeded in translating that ideal into fact and action. Of the active virtues in Hinduism there is small sign. The plain truth is that in claiming the absolute supremacy of Christianity as an ethical system we are on unassailable ground. Hardly any qualified student of ethics would gainsay us.

Now, why is this? It is because there is in Hindu philosophy and theology no adequate basis for ethical teaching and conduct. The gods are not moral themselves, and there is, consequently, no conceivable reason why man should be moral either. With Englishmen, in whom the ethical sense is strong, this argument ought to be of great weight. After all, if the tree is not known by its fruit, by what is it to be known? "It is a fact that when one comes to blunt questions of right and wrong, as we understand such things, it is difficult to find any common ground with the average Hindu." How is it possible to say, as people thoughtlessly do, that all religions are equally good? One often heard it said, "I get on very well with these fellows; I rather like them, in fact; but the worst of it is they are such awful liars." The next time you meet the same man he inveighs against Missions, and says he cannot see the good of them. The odd thing is that he does not see the mutual contradiction underlying the two sentiments. The only conceivable reason for telling the truth (except when it pays, which it frequently does not) is because you happen to believe in a God of Truth. If truth is a matter of indifference to God, why should it be otherwise to you? It would appear, therefore, that if you disapprove of untruthfulness, the best thing to do is to inculcate the knowledge of the God of Truth.

(4) This brings us to the common objection to Missions that they make such bad Christians. "The native Christian servant is no better, often worse, than the non-Christian." On this latter point I can only say what I found, in common fairness. I did not come across this Christian servant who is such a failure. I suppose, from the point of view of the argument, I was peculiarly unfortunate; but there it is. I did come across, on the other hand, hostesses who said that the only servant they really could trust was their Christian servant. Of course, there must be plenty of instances to the contrary, especially when we remember the class from which such servants are usually drawn, but all the same I cannot quite resist the opinion that the average Englishman's attitude to Christian servants is similar to his attitude towards parsons. He inveighs against the species, as a whole, but says he has quite a decent one of his own.

As to the general subject of "bad Christians," it ought to be enough to say that we are not entirely unfamiliar with them at home, despite a good many centuries of Christian tradition. The Christian character takes many generations before it can establish itself individually, and still more collectively, and until we, in the West, have been a good deal more successful than we have so far shown ourselves in producing anything approaching to a Christian nation, the argument of "such bad Christians" against the missionary enterprise is neither convincing nor even decently modest. It is clear that the Christian character is possible of accomplishment by all nations and kindreds and tongues and peoples, because it has been done.

(5) To many of us the supreme reason for proceeding

with the missionary enterprise is the clear conviction of the need of the world, collectively and individually, for the Gospel. Nothing less will do to enable a nation to achieve full self-realisation, to make the best of the treasures of its national character for the service of the world.

> Above the plains she sits; her wrinkled face
> Resting upon her hands; her grave sad eyes,
> Where wait the hidden dreams of many a race,
> Turned to the Western skies.
>
> Behind her rise the pines and fields of snow,
> The still lands, where the soul alone has trod;
> Beneath, the tribes of men surge to and fro,
> And there is naught but God.
>
> She traces slowly broadening battle lines
> Creep to the East; she hears from hill to hill
> The roar of guns; beneath the trembling pines
> She looks and listens still.
>
> Her jewels and her gold, her harvests wait
> The conqueror's pleasure. Who shall take for toll
> The riddle in those eyes? Who force the gate
> That opens to her soul?*

There is no national grace or characteristic which will not be found in Christ, and strengthened by contact with Him, and brought to its fullest possibilities in Him. There is no nation that will not be the better for Him. India waits for Him, unconsciously, wistfully, and He alone can read the riddle of her soul.

On the other hand, Christ waits for the nations; the Church will be incomplete until they all come in. A book† was published some fifteen years ago under the

* "Asia," by Edward Shillito.

† "Mankind and the Church" (Longmans, Green and Co.).

editorship of Bishop Montgomery, in which an attempt was made to estimate the contribution which the great races of the world would make to the fullness of the Church of God. It was a valuable and instructive effort, and it ought to be much better known than it is, for the thought is one of great importance.

And, after all, the word which dominates most of our ideas and aims to-day is the word "unity," and if the Gospel cannot reconcile nations and races, what can? Is there anything else?

III

How, then, fares the cause? How is the work done? What does the Church look like as she does her work in the forefront of her battle-lines and in her lonely outposts? So men and women who care a little have eagerly asked us. Let me set down some brief and scattered impressions, few out of many, of one who tried to get glimpses of it in the midst of almost incessant work. I will put them in three sections.

1. The first and the greatest without doubt was the splendid heroism and the dauntless courage of the men and women who are doing the work. Often with little to cheer, often with scant sympathy from their fellow-Christians around, always with great disappointments, seldom with encouragement of numbers, they go on with devotion, patience, love, at their task. Be it remembered, too, that the majority do not get the reliefs, amenities, holidays, that most English people in the East find necessary to enable them to battle with the climate and the conditions of life.

Said one to me, who was stationed by his Bishop for

a short time to minister to an English congregation, "You have no idea what a relief and pleasure it is to be able to express an intelligent idea to intelligent people in one's own tongue." Said another, drawing to the end of a long life of service, "I shall never go back to England again. I hope my bones will be laid here where I have worked. Tell them at home that you met one missionary at least who adored her work." A third, well-known in England, has said, "God gives us strength to go on; that is the seal of His approval." I do not think we comfortable Christians at home, nor some of those in India, quite realise that there is much beside romance in the life of a missionary. Among the many fine men and women I met in the East none, as a class, quite touched the missionaries. The memory of them is an inspiration to the laggard will in the dull days.

"We are confronted with the most modern, most arresting, most unanswerable of all arguments for Christianity—the phenomenon of the missionaries of Jesus Christ. With them lies the most living evidence we have of the reality of our Lord and of His claim. They are a problem to be solved. To the sceptic they present a paradox which he must explain or perish; and the paradox lies in this — that the missionary's chosen career is in almost every particular clean contrary to the normal instincts and predilections of mankind. Alike in his objective, in the environment he chooses, and in the reward he looks for, he is an unaccountable variation from his species, a rebel against the convention of his race. His objective is neither wealth nor fame; and his environment consists of everything which we most of

us wish to avoid. For instance, we have come to regard a certain standard of comfort as of the first importance in life: the missionary puts several things before his personal comfort, and takes hardships when they come as part of the day's work. We like to settle down within reasonable reach of our relations and friends; he leaves home and friends, and is content to live thousands of miles away, with no connection whatever, except an occasional home mail. The missionaries mainly persevere for a lifetime in their difficult environment. What makes them do it? What magnetic attraction holds them to their post? Verily nothing which would content the average man. Heat and mosquitoes and flies, and bad food and no doctors and dentists, and no amenities of civilisation; with only coloured people around them, whose very touch repels some of their fellow-countrymen at home."*

2. The second impression is a very vivid one, in all sorts of varying conditions and places, of "the difference that it makes." First, for what it is worth—and it seems to me personally to be worth a good deal—is the striking difference noticed by all of us again and again between the faces of Christians and their non-Christian fellows. I do not want to press it too far, but there it undoubtedly is. It may not be true to say that you can always tell by means of your eyes who is a Christian and who is not, but something like it is true; there is a new expression, there is a joy and a hope seldom to be seen outside the ranks of the Christians.

* Bishop of Salisbury: Paper at the Church Congress, 1923.

Then there is the difference in "life" and atmosphere in the Christian churches, institutions, communities in contrast with others. I think of that great school at Trinity College, Kandy (C.M.S.), of St. Mary's School for Girls (S.P.G.) at Rangoon, and the fine school for girls at Katni (C.M.S.), of the queer and delightful school for Chinese boys at Moulmein, where I gave an address which was translated first into Burmese and then into Chinese, and reached the ears of my young hearers in I know not what condition. I remember that jolly bunch of Christian boys in the big Mohammadan school at Harda, stoutly maintaining that when they came out of the school they should "go back to help the Mission that had helped them." I remember that glorious colony of boys just outside Calcutta under the leadership of Father Douglas (Oxford Mission to Calcutta). I picture again and again that brave and gay little procession of Christians at Moulmein coming down from St. Augustine's Church (S.P.G.) to join us at the English Church for a united Eucharist on Christmas Eve, singing their hymns as they march with the cross at their head, and banners fluttering almost impudently in the breeze. Pitifully tiny and inadequate it must have looked from an aeroplane, too small to be noticed amid the hordes of Buddhists round about. But it was a great sight; it was the beginnings of the Church; it was the advance guard of the Prince of Peace.

Thirdly, there is the recollection of countless interviews everywhere with those to whom God has spoken and who have made their response of acceptance. Their attitude to God and man is something entirely

different from the rest, and their standard and perception of character is a new thing.

It is easier to understand the Bible contrast between light and darkness, having seen and knowing these things.

3. My third great impression is the desperate shortage of men and money. Every place is undermanned, and almost every place is starved by lack of funds. More than that, work is actually being reduced and closed down. "There are large areas where the help of the Society cannot at present be dispensed with without serious injury to the young Churches in them. And while it has become clear to us that the C.M.S. is attempting to-day far more work than it can compass efficiently on existing resources, we wish to emphasise also the entirely inadequate response of the Church of England as a whole to the spiritual claims which India has a right to make upon it. America, with far less direct responsibility for India, is shouldering more than her due proportion of the burden. On the other hand, the C.M.S., though by far the largest Anglican Missionary Society, is working effectively in a humiliatingly small proportion of the Indian continent, and it is with shame that the Delegation have to include in the scheme for possible reduction some Missions which the C.M.S. was led to undertake by the clearest providential indications in the past, and in which it cannot be said that it has carried to a successful issue the work entrusted to it."* It is really much more a matter of money than it is of workers, for hundreds of parish priests in England know that the young men and women could be found if there was money to train,

* "Report of the C.M.S. Delegation to India," p. 119.

equip, and pay them. And it is our money that we will not give. Men and women may give their life's work, may give even life itself, for the cause, but we will not give our money; we love it too dearly. We will pray, sew, go to bazaars, but do not ask us to give our money. Look at the things it can buy, the pleasures it can bring! Think what we should have to give up! The work of Christ may be crippled here and closed down there, and workers may struggle on with totally insufficient equipment and help—but we would rather keep our money, thank you. We seem to expect God to rain down £1 notes at the next monsoon; but He won't do it, for it is not His way.

The plain truth of a very plain matter is that, until there is something in the lives of Christians which corresponds with the self-denial of those who go out as missionaries, the Kingdom will never come. If we do not do it, nobody will do it; if we do not give, nobody will give; if we do not care, nobody will care. There *is* nobody else to give or to care. Of course, it is a fool's game, I know. It is like throwing your money down a drain, or like casting your bread upon the waters. But Canon Scott Holland used to say that what was wanted was more fools for Christ's sake.

IV

Lastly, what about results? Fortunately, results are not our business. Christianity is a religion of faith, and always has been.

Bishop Lightfoot, in his "Historical Essays," gives a glowing picture of the early Church in the Roman Empire, and the collapse of paganism. There is

nothing like that to be seen in the East. Progress there is, but it is slow, silent, secret, for the most part; the disappointments are crushing and the adversary is strong, haughty, conscious of numerical strength, a great historical past, and much that is of value in belief. We must neither overlook what is good, nor make light of the magnitude of the enterprise.

> And God saith, If ye hear it
> This weeping of the Spirit
> For the world which ye inherit,
> Do I not hear it too ?
> Arise, and to your stations
> Ye lighted living nations.
> These be My dark foundations,
> To raise them is for you.*

Nevertheless, results there are, and we need not despise them. It is computed that the Christian body has increased in numbers to the extent of a million during the last ten years. Certain it is that strong native churches are growing up in many places, full of vitality and urgently demanding independence. This may provide us with great problems, but it is at least an evidence of progress, even startling. Men are dreaming of the Church of India, and not without hope of fulfilment. Whence also came those great and enthusiastic congregations in Ceylon if they were not the fruits of the missionary work of the Church in the past ? The present time is one of extraordinary difficulty, for the Nationalist Movement sometimes, though quite unnecessarily, shows strong anti-Christian bias, and has brought sometimes a sad bitterness towards the white pastor from his flock. This can only

* Herbert Trench.

be temporary; there is need only for patience and understanding.

The indirect influence of Christianity—what has been so well described as "diffused Christianity"—seems to be almost irresistible in spite of all efforts made to counteract it. From small things like the appearance of alms-boxes at so many of the temples, an idea borrowed from Christianity, to big things like the gradual penetration of Christian ideas and ethics into non-Christian systems, the witness is all in the same direction. It is neither the eccentricity of genius nor the exception that proves the rule which accounts for Gandhi's admiration for the character of Christ; it is because intelligent India will not long desire to say anything less, and may very well be moved to say a great deal more. The tone of the press to Christ is nearly always respectful and reverent.

The Christian hostels at the universities may be able to show few converts to the Faith, but the young men who go to them do get a higher ideal of religion and life, and parents often prefer to send their sons to them because of the higher moral standard to be found there. Moreover, though they may not gain Christian conviction, nor the courage to confess it if they have got it, yet they pass out with a friendly attitude which counts for much.

For my own part if, on the one hand, I returned to England with an increased sense of the magnitude and difficulty of the missionary enterprise, yet, on the other, I returned greatly encouraged with results to be seen, and with the clear conviction that it is impossible to exaggerate the unseen and unconscious influence of Christianity.

The greatest problem of the Mission Field to-day, it has been said, is the education of the Home Church. If we could accomplish that, we should move quickly; until we can accomplish that we may only move slowly. But even so, there is progress, for other agencies are at work than those which are merely human.

V

THE INTELLECTUAL ENVIRONMENT AND ITS EFFECT UPON FAITH

By the Rev. PHILIP NAPIER WAGGETT, D.D., of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, Oxford, Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Exeter.

A chapter in a composite book is in effect the answer to an editorial question.

The question put to me is, What is the intellectual atmosphere of English India? How far is it favourable to faith; and, if in any respect it is unfavourable, how is the unfavourable influence to be met and changed?

The challenge of the question awakens memories and regrets: the memories of an intellectual welcome in which India is as generous as in all the other duties of hospitality; regrets that one cannot land again in Bombay equipped beforehand with the sense—as well as the news—of that generosity, awake to the peculiar attraction of India, and free from the tormenting shyness that hinders so much of happy learning and intelligent pleasure.

Looking back I find it difficult to capture and describe any peculiar mental climate in English India, and this is natural enough in a visitor who was there six months, just long enough to destroy the first fine careless rapture of delusive impressions, and very far

from long enough to form any real appreciation. Add to this that the visitor was, in India as everywhere, not in the least a critic but only a missionary, a street-corner preacher altogether uninterested in analysis and record, and you have the conditions for a most unintelligent account of the intelligence of India.

Still, let us make an attempt. Let us recall those societies, always active, generous, communicative, always ready to learn, to consider; societies widely varying among themselves, in circles of Government, of military life, of law, of learning, of business; but alike, I think, in that forthcomingness of which I have ventured with some hesitation to speak. What then, once more, is the mental atmosphere of English India ?

I

If you try to use a crib for your answer, if you beg opinions from an Indian friend at home, you may easily strike one who tells you there is no intellectual atmosphere in India, no productive energy of thought, no growth, no soil. This he says out of an abundant modesty, while he holds his own among men trained in what he calls the more favourable conditions, say, of an English University; and he makes a fairly good case. If you were to judge London by its most bustling and anxious class, you might think there was no intellectual work in London. And in an Indian city the English world is small, and everyone is expected to do and know everything. It results that the impression of mental inactivity is formed, as it is not formed where we reckon on the existence of some thoughtful and many unthoughtful sections. But your critic

who has himself passed sixteen hot weathers in Bengal will return to the charge. And he has facts to produce. A hot country is not favourable to mental energy, there is too much that must be done, and it is very hard to do it.

In answer I can only say with great confidence that no lecturer or alleged lecturer on subjects of some difficulty ever had a more alert or a more generous audience than I met in every place I stopped at in India, or an audience more fertile in reply. This was the fact not only in busy places like Calcutta or Bombay, or in Belgaum where a school of senior officers naturally makes a nucleus of study, or in Coimbatore where there are important colleges manned by chosen men from Oxford and Cambridge, but also among the business-men of Cawnpore or the small community of Indore in a native state. At this place, and also at Agra, Allahabad, and Bangalore, the Indian students have a great appetite for discussion, but that is another story. In general terms, certainly, my small and narrow experience brought a degree of stimulation and mental give and take which a man would, I think, be very exacting to value slightly. Calcutta is an extraordinary place. There they like meeting for discussion, not only in the evening after dinner, but in the middle of the day at luncheon-time. Could you say more of London? But the Indian English still insist that their world is intellectually empty, and their impression is not altogether surprising.

Action and thought are not alternative occupations for men. They do not vary inversely.

At the same time, a man who examines his own life will find that the weeks when he has been incessantly

occupied with perplexing or with contentious correspondence, when he has been trying to save a house, a business, a life, to clear the character of a friend or get employment for a neighbour, have not been weeks of success in literature, or study, or mental analysis. He has thought, in those days, very hard and very quick, as a man thinks terribly fast when ice cracks under his tread or the bull is nearer than the gate. But this is not the kind of thinking that makes much show as thought, and it is precisely the kind of thinking that must occupy responsible minds in India; and who in India is not responsible? Everyone, be he struggling junior or *Burra Sahib*, is an indispensable man. There is no leisure class, no retired expert, no extra men or extra days; and what is true of their men is true of the ladies also of that watchful and dutiful community. These pages will not have been quite uselessly filled if they contain just the one statement that the picture of a lazy, dreaming, pleasure-loving English India is a picture with all the modern independence of objective reality. It is art for art's sake. It tells no story. If it records the mood of the artist, it is because English India laid itself out to make his time agreeable.

Well, the thought one thinks so rapidly in times of danger or stress does not get the name of philosophy. It is too strenuous for that, and it leaves too thin a record. It is like the split in darkness that lightning is. "If ever I thought, I thought then," one says of a moment of crisis. But the thought raced too much to make an atmosphere.

What essays, lettered friend, came from your exquisite pen while you watched your wife's long

illness, or—for I would not be pathetic—while you defeated the project of your business rivals? It is not when his bank is in peril that the banker makes those volumes of reflective thought for which the world looks to bankers. It is not when drafts are delayed and trenches are afloat that the military leader polishes the phrases appropriate to a General's book. There is a sense in which violent and swift action is the other aspect of vigorous thought, but there is another sense in which the pressure of heavy or delicate tasks brings thinking to a low ebb. Schopenhauer would, I think, have described the intelligence of most of us in India as subject to the practical will, engaged in that "compulsory occupation with the particular which is an irksome bondage" for the philosopher. Moreover, in our period there are special anxieties in India.

Our book is not a book about the evolutions or revolutions of the Indian state. But so much as this must be said. A good deal is happening in India, and happening very fast. How much more change is to come, and at what pace, depends really—though the fact is not admitted—upon the will of our masters, the great and thoughtful democracy of England. That will is beyond the influence of the English in India. They can only prepare, under circumstances beyond their control, to do their best for the populations so long served by Britons of their type; and if they lie awake o' nights it is not to examine the problems of faith, but to pray that the countries so hardly raised to a degree of happiness may not become a field for the self-seeking adventure of quite other kinds of men from Europe.

You may add to the social preoccupations the

endless and constant hindrances of a tropical climate. The effort to live, to keep fit, to get the competence which means getting home, to avoid partings, to provide for the partings that cannot be avoided—all these things absorb a great deal of mental energy. According to some men who speak with the authority of long experience, there is besides all this an unexamined and often unacknowledged sadness at the bottom of many men's hearts; and what their minds require—like the minds of some men on active service—is not exercise but just relief. So they read and talk and play to dilute a mental mixture already concentrated and bitter.

There are many sets of men in England under the difficulties I have suggested. But in India the English world in any place is small, and everyone must take a share in everything. We can leave on one side the marked differences between the worlds of Government, the Army, the law, learning, and business. There is also a scientific set, not everywhere allied with the university. But this world of science is linked with science of other countries without distinction of race.

On the general account we must admit some special Indian difficulties. To balance them there is with respect to affairs the desire of knowledge and the expectation of being allowed to know which are characteristic of people in authority.

II

So far I have written as if the English world in India existed *in vacuo* or in real detachment from the Indian life about it, and as if the English Christian mind was

developed, in mental prosperity or adversity, independently of the Indian Christian mind, and unaffected by the life, worship, and beliefs of the non-Christian peoples.

In some subjects a provisional isolation of certain facts for study is useful; and you can with some profit —a profit always subject to discount later—think about a department " as if " it was really shut off from the rest of the facts.

But exclusive study of this sort is of very little use when you are trying to understand India. It is too artificial. To study Englishmen in India " as if " they were not concerned with Indians is like studying fish " as if " they lived out of water. It is possible, though not easy, to *talk* to English people over there without talking at the same time to Indians, and without talking about Indians. You can talk to Englishmen without discussing politics—that is to say, the faithful management of affairs common to English and Indians; without discussing economics—that is, the just direction for common profit of English and Indian enterprise and industry; without discussing education or agriculture, or public medicine or transport —that is to say, the movements, the health, the country life, the mental development, of vast populations for the most part Indian. But you cannot preach to English people in India without *thinking* of these things, or escape failure if you think wrongly about them.

In fact, it is only within strict and narrow limits that a man can safely even make as if the Englishman lived, thought, moved, worked, and worshipped God in a world of his own; and probably if ever there is

another Mission of Help to India, its messengers will not be very solemnly encouraged to undertake the mental gymnastic required by the convention that the English people and Indians of India live in water-tight compartments.

Specialisation of effort there must be; and in particular the interests of the mixed race demand at this moment a highly concentrated attention.

But the language-barrier for the clergyman who only talks English is safeguard enough against dissipation of interest, and the special needs of English people there and of country-born people of English speech are urgent and manifest enough to engage the energies of anyone whose duty it is to attend to them. He must attend to them as needs plainly special and specially urgent, but not in real fact isolated or unrelated or capable of treatment without regard to the social and religious world they belong to.

In point of fact, the English Christian, or potential Christian, in India is both consciously and unconsciously greatly influenced by the Indian world. Even when he resists constantly the Indian mental forces, he is influenced by them. For to evoke resistance is to exercise influence of a kind, and perhaps in its most typical form. When I say "unconsciously" I mean without full attention, and with every degree of absence of that attention.

So far as conscious attention is concerned, the Englishman is more concerned, more interested, and in that sense more influenced by the vast "heathen" world than by the little world of Indian Christianity. He thinks less of his fellow-Christians who are not English than of his Indian neighbours who are not

Christian. Even to many liberal minds there is something abnormal and bizarre about the Indian Christian. We dress him, when he is a clergyman, in a collar with the stud behind; when she is a district visitor, in a pith helmet; and the untrained eye sees something like masquerade in these arrangements, as if he had met "a native" dressed up in a foreign mode. The Indian is expected to be a Hindu or a Moslem, excepting when he is the cook, and then he is a Roman Catholic and a tiny bit European.

No one is unaffected by any of his neighbours. But so far as attention is concerned, the English Churchman over there is affected very little in a positive way by the Indian Churches. While I write this I see that it needs a library of exceptions to make it tolerably true. But the men and women who are best able and entitled to make the corrections will most readily suppose they are not overlooked, and will be inclined to say that, on the whole, the English Christian body is sparingly interested in Indian or missionary Christian life.

But here again the word "interested" needs interpretation. The good missionary is everywhere honoured, and English congregations are in no manner of sense without *benevolent* interest in Mission work. But in many quarters two things are almost separate—the Church of the English and the Missions for India; and good and wise men are often inclined to a solution of Anglican problems involving the complete "independence" of the Indian Church, while the English congregations remain attached to "Home" with as much as can be kept of the old constitutional *nexus*.*

The feeling or view here suggested is not found on

* The word "bond" is avoided as being not neutral.

one side only. Indian Christians hold it more constantly and express it—in the Indian way, the least subtle in the world—more exuberantly. Anxious to break down barriers between himself and, say, Indian Presbyterians, the Indian Church-of-England-man seems eager to get something solid to separate him from Englishmen of the same communion. He would pull down several dykes and use the stones to make a Wall of China against England. One of us gladly went to address the united missionaries of all denominations in a southern centre. Being himself an old African missionary, he chose for his subject some general interests of mission work, and received by next morning's post a fierce scolding from an Indian clergyman, the main burden of which was that he, the Mission of Helper, had been sent to English Church people, and must not touch the hopes and difficulties of Indian Christians. Such is life. Full of barriers, classes, different tones of buff—for no one is white—exclusive interests, alternative episcopates, and other inventions of Satan.*

If we make the division, we shall be sorry afterwards, or our successors in the faith will be, and will spend endless thought and effort to recover the unity that need never have been destroyed. For the Indian Church will have hard work to avoid absorption by the inclusive spirit of Hinduism, and the English Church can reach no full-grown life on a basis of exclusiveness.

It may stand, it will stand, while promoting vicariously and by alms a Mission to foreigners; but it will

* Differences of administration make another story: provided always they have a starting-point inside India.

not become adult and productive, it will not become purposeful and march, unless it claims as its very own all in Christ who will accept the brotherhood. Both Indian and English Churchmen must say of their opposite numbers: "Except these abide in the ship we cannot be saved."

Enough of that which is, I daresay, outside my reference.

Turn we to the Englishman's relation to the Hindu and Mahommadan life, the overwhelmingly greater part of the life of India, and the stronger influence under which, whether by concession or resistance, the Englishman in India must do his part.

A subject so familiar must be briefly outlined under two heads, the unmeasured influence of the presence of multitudes not living by our faith, and the effect upon the conscious mind of the arguments and considerations supplied by the spectacle of non-Christian society. Take the last first. The Englishman brought up in a world where Christianity and religion are in effect the same thing is often shaken in conviction when he sees men and systems not in any way depending on Christ but devout to God, and endeavouring to obey what they believe to be God's will. If the non-Christian religion were one rival to Christianity, the disturbance would be serious enough. But it is of endless different forms. And the multiplicity of the rival force makes it more formidable, for it accustoms the mind to believe that no one form of conviction possesses the sovereign claim of truth. This leads some men towards a general scepticism, rather than towards an equally defensible general hopefulness about man's capacity to know God.

In other men—to take only two classes of mind out of hundreds—it leads to a very real personal religion, combined with unwillingness to be pledged to any particular creed or society, even if it be as wide as the universal Church of Christ.

These tendencies present a vast field for Christian endeavour, and may enlist for India the minds in Christendom best endowed and prepared for a work of almost incomparable importance.

And far beyond all arguments or tempers of thought is the effect, quite unmeasured, and perhaps never to be measured, of the mere presence alongside of us of multitudes of minds thinking thoughts different from ours, of multitudes of hearts subject to hopes and fears unlike our own. It is only by a mighty energy of spirit that we can hold fast that we have under conditions spiritually so exciting or so depressing, and persevere in a journey in which we are to be the leaders of many souls needing the God, the salvation, we need.

Coming from the spiritual atmosphere of England, so wholesome still in spite of all our faults, we must be very far from criticising if we perceive in India, as I have not perceived, any unusual degree of spiritual exhaustion or mental weariness.

III

Time spent upon considerations so general and so negative as these is not wasted: for they lead towards conclusions about the practical presentation of Christianity in India, not certain, but worth considering.

If the English world of India is weary and even sad,

then Christianity should be presented—let us rather say, Christ should be preached—primarily as a source of strength and of joy. The complaint is made in some lands that men are apt to ask what they can get out of religion and not to ask what they can give to it. In India I do not think the giving spirit will be practically hindered by a constant and urgent proclamation of what men may *receive* from God. This element of teaching was not unemphatic at the beginning of our faith. "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly." God is our life, our strength, our peace, our joy. He also gives us hope—that is, the present succour under present burdens of a good not yet attained. Christ is a fountain, the fountain of this Divine life, a fountain opened for pardon, cleansing, relief of guilt, the lifting of the despondency of sin and of sorrow. Life is burdensome, exacting, all but crushing. We cannot do any more. We cannot add to our acknowledged tale of duty. Why make new demands upon the conscience and the will? . . . The strong and busy might, I imagine, feel the demand unbracing, the supply unsatisfying. If you have succours to give, the strong may say, "Mine's the same right with your poorest and sickliest."* Your call to new efforts is shrill and unconvincing, tell me how I can meet the calls already accepted.

As an uplifting power, a refreshment that comes home, bread for those who must grow strong, a force of life within, our religion must be preached; as a remedial energy that can order the family, the society, and give hope to a confused country. There would,

* Browning, "Christmas Eve," ii.

I conceive, be no effective intellectual barriers in the way of a man's joining a fellowship of faith that showed the triumphant love of the first Christian days, love exulting in service.

The service would come, as it comes to-day, wherever the *gift* of force and life is first known.

We see this often enough now in the welcome the questioning mind quite as truly as the kindly heart gives to the practical Mission work: to the care of the young, the healing of the sick. It is as a force, a force beneficent and available for all, that the Church appeals to burdened men; and I would say, let her not, in this special case, make her *first* appeal as demanding action, but simply as ready to comfort human life, and as possessing great resources for this work. Does not the attraction that Christian Science exercises consist in this, that its system and its teaching offer help, strength, health? In some strange way it has certainly come to pass that the Church is not *known* to make this offer, and is presumed to possess only a list of demands, to present only a difficult and unaided mode of being good, a set of precepts which a man is *emancipated* by neglecting. We have at least to declare that emancipation lies not in rejection, but in acceptance of the power of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus. It has been impossible not to notice a neglect of Holy Communion among some church-goers. Asked why the sacrament was better than matins, I have said that more energy belonged to Holy Communion, and I was taken to mean that the sacrament was better because it was "more trouble." But for the present I should put first the reason that there we get more strength.

This is the first provisional conclusion I seemed to get. In a weary land, offer refreshment. Let problems of the past go by to make room for a call to prayer by which the hidden spark of faith may be fed to a great fire, and men know God as the rewarder of those that seek Him. The proclamation of a faith which is really a discovery verified by the experience of heavenly power challenges, attracts, and enlists men who could long stave off any conclusion in an argument about creation, design, and even moral responsibility.

IV

There are in my mind three more particular " difficulties " and opportunities for the Christian advocate. These may seem to be included in what has been already said. But they are different for practice. I have spoken of the weariness of life. I distinguish this from its preoccupation.

1. For *preoccupation* can be delightful, interesting, profitable, and comes to men not yet at all weary but conscious of unexhausted power.

2. Near to this is the mood of *specialisation*. The preoccupied man does not deny the reality for another man of some contrasted preoccupation. Go your way. he says to the religious man, and let me go mine. The English world of India is indeed a small one, and everyone must bear a hand. But there is definite specialisation within it, a strong departmentalism. In the old Company days a man did not easily pass from one province to another, and it is the same now. The Army is a strong world of its own; different parts of civil life are clearly marked off; and in

the Government of India there is an ecclesiastical department.

Is there not something a little like this in the world of thought and feeling? Religion is religion, and the rest is something else, and you must be occupied with one or the other.

Now so long as the call of faith is limited, either more or less completely, as a call to the services of the church or chapel alone; so long as the duties of religion are proposed as alternatives to the pursuits of the world, the cause of faith, I submit, is at an unfair disadvantage. I do not mean, of course, that any preacher thinks, or even says, that a Christian man could fulfil his duty by coming to church and neglecting his business. But even in so crude a form as this, the call of religion is sometimes conceived by its outside critics; and by a great many the habit of thought favours the notion that if a man pays his *devoir* at a given hour to religion he may attend for the rest of his time to interests in which faith has no part. And he has some excuse. There were special Missions lately in some parts of India, and the business man of the town was sometimes reproached because he allowed his business arrangements, or the relaxations necessary for business, to interfere with his attendance at special services.

Now so long as prayer and preaching are set in direct competition with business, business must win all along the line. For business seems more real than religion; and it seems more real because it makes a larger demand upon mind and will. We ought not to wish religion to be an occupation for times when the more important faculties of man are off duty.

Preoccupation will make a man avoid a religion that might distract him. Departmentalism leads him to give to religion only what can be spared from serious pursuits, or, as an English Minister of State once said to me with great injustice to himself, " to get his theology over before breakfast."

Preoccupation grows to so great a perfection that it becomes materialism pure and simple, and the world of sense so absorbing that the man is " without God in the world."

For these kindred evils or disablements, materialism, preoccupation, specialisation, the Christian body has a cure ready and waiting to be used. This cure is a thorough-going and candid sacramentalism, a sacramentalism urging the bold claim that all things are for God, all should serve God, all can be redeemed only by escaping from creaturely isolation into the creature's destined and intended relation to God.

I do not mean by " sacramentalism " the ceremonial system of the Church, though it is from this that the word, I suppose, gets its more extended use. No other word quite serves the same purpose. Let it stand for the belief that spirit and matter are not merely opposed but correlative, that the material does not achieve a reality by itself to which spirit or significance for man's spirit may or may not be added, that, on the contrary, matter has existence as an utterance from Spirit to spirit, and where Revelation is perfect and fully authentic, there " God's Presence and His very self " is manifest in human life.

Such a general conception has illustrations or consequences in many directions, and is independent of the elaboration or the simplicity of religious observance.

But the practice of sacramental worship helps this teaching. See, God to draw us to Himself does not draw us from the creatures of His hand, but so assumes these with us into His service that He makes of them His gift to us, and brings spirit face to face with Spirit in offering and redemption of the material. Man might have been so made and so remained as to rise away from every show of the world to the pure adoration of the Creator. Man being what he is, not accidentally but inevitably preoccupied by many "earthly" duties and worldly ties, the essential and necessary way for God is to meet man *there* "in the bush," in the nature of man, in the society, the needs, the sorrows and the joys, the efforts, the multiplied failures, the rare but actual successes, of man possessed by God—that is, of God Himself working not otherwise than in man. We do not decline from a better way when *we* also meet God in man—on the contrary, we then at last submit to God's own direction and invitation, and consent to seek Him upon the path He has made His own, in the tabernacle He pitches among men and builds of men to be the meeting-place of God with every soul.

This is an old story, but I think it needs retelling in India and in England. I believe we need a much simpler, more thorough-going, more courageous return to the old essentials of worship, the breaking of bread and the prayers, in the doctrine of the Person of Christ, and in an apostolic fellowship which is a practical fellowship with one's neighbours.

Those earnest, active, self-sacrificing men are not to be called away from their worldly duties to find God. They are to be encouraged to abide in them for

God's Kingdom. "Seek first" does not mean—we must tell them—that they must postpone their professional duties to pious thoughts. It means that in all they do and at all times the primary object and the constant inspiration must be the interest of God's sovereignty. Seek first, last, and all the time, the establishment of God's Kingdom, and the vindication of God's righteous law. And if occupations cannot be abandoned merely in favour of an act of special worship, so also cares, troubles, thoughts, hopes—all that frets the heart of man—cannot be left behind always that we may find a wordless peace.

Sometimes we must come, the head a-buzz with thoughts, the heart heavy with cares, and offer this head, this heart, just as it is, to God, whose Spirit knows the way among these thickets, even as in the garden of lilies and roses.

It may be objected that so tolerant a religion will soon be forced to be more tolerant still; that if faith is content to survive in the hum of business, it will be found entangled in the web of selfish pleasure and even of lawless self-indulgence.

The answer is not hard to state. The man who is really—however inconstantly and inconsistently—seeking God everywhere will soon know quite certainly that while the harshest or the most exciting scenes of duty and business are on the path he wants, there are *other* paths which cannot be his any more, and that to stay in them is an abandonment of that very quest whose greatness constitutes his warrant for going freely and unhampered along the ways of real activity

V

3. Allied, I think, to departmentalism is what I ask leave to call the static habit of mind. By this I mean the judgment of things as more or less fixed and not as in a condition of movement and growth.

The static and the departmental habits of mind are akin, because they are both anti-developmental. One of the wonders of our time is that while "development" has so long been a popular *word*, the principal and really important *conception* it should convey is so little accepted. People are developmentalist about what they do not care for. They believe, for example, in organic development, in the production of animals and plants by descent with modification; but to what end do they believe this? Only in order to believe that the Bible is statically untrue, untrue as a fixed and unalterable story to be judged at a given moment worthy or unworthy of confidence.

The static man, if I may use the rough word for convenience, does not refuse to believe in change. But he believes in changes with limits of movement and finality of result. This was hot and is now cold. He was rich and has become poor. Religion was credible and has become incredible. And the less acute staticist goes even further. He is half inclined to say, God was supreme and is now dethroned. There are differences for the static, but the differences are soon accomplished and fixed beyond hope or beyond fear. And, moreover, in a world of particulars thus jerkily changeable, there are many particulars always unchangeable—good men and bad men, truth tellers and liars, just as there are live men and dead men. The

dead men were once indeed alive, but they are now dead. They have passed into an entirely different set, and they have passed by a change which cannot be reversed or expected to go further.

Though the static has an accepted set of changes and knows a change when he sees it, yet he always knows it as a change accomplished, and, for all his vocabulary of alteration, he is not yet of the same habit as the man who sees that change is not an accident, but of the essence of perceived existences, and that however enduring the picture seems to our short-lived observation, it is truly important only as a wave in a stream, or as an instant of life in a living whole.

May I illustrate what is perhaps not perfectly clear in the subject that is familiar to every man, the subject of politics. I do not mean by politics that singular art and practice by which men enter assemblies, get measures passed or prevent their passing. I mean the general view of the way the affairs of the world are conducted, and particularly the affairs of one's own country or group of countries. To the static man the existing condition of any society is an establishment to be valued or despised, it is a collection of objects worth keeping or better discarded. Of course, the collection grew in the sense that collections grow. There was once less of it. It has seen changes like a man's wardrobe or furniture. It is to be known at least *under the figure* of permanence, or of abolition, *sub specie finitatis*. Shaw says we do not know it until it is done and done with. He takes no account here of the knowledge that we get of life by living. In the mood of finality we ask of a society, Is it a good society

or not? Once we had a good state of things. Now we have a bad state of things. And it is too late—"too late" is a favourite word with the static—to recover the old state. That is gone. Where to? The country is here, the people are here. Once, you tell me, everyone was happy, and now everyone is miserable. But cannot they be happy again, and does not the answer to that question depend on themselves, depend on ourselves? Not altogether, alas! But a dose of the developmental habit of mind would do us no harm. If things are very bad and can really never be restored, it can do us no particular harm to suppose that it is worth while to try to make them better. If our course is really and objectively fixed, we cannot be worse off than we are. And so in politics I should certainly myself say that we must never regard the existing society as if it were a collection of vessels or jewels precious or worthless. We must always regard it, and we are thinking truly and scientifically when we regard it, as a living existence capable under favourable conditions of making its own recoveries, its own repairs, as it goes. And what is true of societies on their civil or economic side is true of all the exhibitions of Church life and of the life of every Christian man. While there is life there is hope, and hope is the *true* temper of life. Why should we mind perishing if the present moment is the revelation of our character? And if there is, after all, a future and possibilities as real as the possibilities of the past, why should we consent to perish? In so far as the creature may be said to do anything, he has just as much power to make his future as he has to judge, to form a just conception of his present, and more

power than he has to judge another man's present condition.

Well, this static mentality, with its list of changes and its little department of much freer development employed to fix more rigidly the rest of what is known, is very common everywhere. I do not know that it is commoner in India than in other places. If it is, perhaps it is because of the old talk of the "unchanging East," itself depending a good deal upon the superficial judgments that disregard all the more interesting part of life—that is to say, all that belongs to personality. "Never" is a favourite word of this superficiality. "Never the twain shall meet; there was never an Englishman who understood the native; I myself, who am not less sympathetic than most, yet assure you that after thirty years' experience I shall never understand him; there was never a trustworthy Christian servant; and we shall never see again such viceroys as we have seen." This neverness is staticism. It believes there have been changes, but it believes these changes to be unchangeable.

If this temper is at all commoner at Calcutta than in Clapham, may it not be because of the departmentalism that belongs to life out there? There are white men and Indian men—no one is black now, and even the smaller Girl Guides are not Brownies—there are trenchant distinctions among Indians, barriers never to be crossed between Hindus and Mahommadans, between High Caste and Untouchable, and it is worth a moment's pause to reflect on the singular result of departmental fixity which in the Oriental mind has resulted from a religion teaching the unceasing flow of illusion.

And wherever this overstatic state of mind exists, I should think we ought to emphasise, or rather steadily and without emphasis recommend, the doctrine of development in all its phases, the doctrine of life and of hope, the warnings against degradation and descent. As the future is, by our own act, good or bad, so we shall be found some day to have been now good or bad. But all is possible in the now, for it is only *now* by reason of being a potentiality for the future.

And we might well begin with some zoological developmentalism. If there are still Christians who think their faith depends on what they call " rejecting evolution," let us exhibit those manifold indications that make organic evolution probable. And then let us go on to show, as surely it is not difficult to show, that our theism gains force and gains substance by the necessary adjustment to evolutionary science; that in place of the conception of God as having once acted and then ceased to act, we have that of a God upholding all things always, and originating them by a power which can never be otherwise than *present*. We can add that such conceptions bring us out into the freedom of the faith of all the ages, restore revelation to its ancient dignity, and put out of date only the unauthorised fashion of the day before yesterday. We can show that it is we who in demanding this freedom are exacting, and stand upon the rights of religion, and that the levity of surrender belongs to the people who accuse us of concession.

And when we have thus led our friends towards the path of scientific integrity, we can beg them not to allow their new-found vision of organic change and the

world process to drive them to demand that religion, of all ways of life the most living, should be packed tight, frozen, and sealed. A spiritual ptomaine-poisoning comes of sealing what was meant to live.

We shall hope to hear no more that the religion of the English was one day abolished and replaced by a new one, or that the Church is for ever debarred by some order or other from carrying out the principal function of the live man, that is, to be what he finds himself capable of being, to learn what is true, and to do what is right. Above all, let us be delivered from the departmentalism that distinguishes between truth and Church-of-England truth, or from that kind of tolerance and plea for toleration which was expressed by a lady very long ago to a young missionary in Southwark, in this judgment of a visitor's sermon, "What the gentleman said is very true, *but I don't hold with it.*"

The developmental view of existence is not sufficient by itself. It must be balanced by a whole world of truth, the truth of certainty. And to hold this is, indeed, entirely necessary to the intelligent apprehension of change. For how can change be perceived except in relation to an unchangeable, and how can improvement be looked for or deterioration feared except in terms of a certain good apprehended by intuition or revealed by authority? Still, I believe that what needs attention just now is the fact that existence, not excluding moral existence, is moving, growing, living, and is the scene of reasonable hopes and fears.

Such a view leads to courage in difficult times. Will it not also lead to indifference in critical times? Will

not this trust in " time," which, if it have any meaning, must be trust in *process*, lead to an obliteration, more or less complete, of the outline of duty, even of the distinction of good and evil? Will not men lazily suppose that what they know to be bad may in time grow recognisable as good, and so the day of endeavour pass unredeemed in the false security that all will go well in the night?

Why, no. Not if the doctrine of development is at all rightly attended to. For this teaches not the unimportance but the importance of crises in the past so small as to be unobservable when they happened. The distance between the haystack and the bull's eye shows how much difference is made by small angles of movement in the gun. The striking contrast between a whale and a whelk shows how momentous small divergences of growth really were long ago, and are in time revealed to have been. If time present is the season of hope, it is also the season for wisdom. If it is never too late to mend, it is also never too late for the neglect of mending to make the gappy foundations of future ruin. The one thing developmentalism can never say is, It does not matter; and her constant assertion is, All may yet be well.

In the great affair of good and evil an extended view of the force of heredity, of circumstance, of training, must always be to enlarge the horizon and intensify the claim of personal duty.

This is not the place to argue out this truth. I set it down not as unanswerably convincing, but as illustrating what to a convinced Christian developmentalist is the actual result for moral conviction of the mode of thought he has accepted.

"Mark accurately how ye walk," it seems to say, for every step is full of promise that only goodness can fulfil. And "pray without ceasing," for no step can be good unless it is regulated by the law of that great saving purpose under which we live.

These opinions, unsatisfying as they may seem, are at least the result of an honest self-examination. I believe I have recalled something that is true about India, however true it is of England as well.

* * * * *

I entertained some hours ago the guilty design of filling the pages allotted to me by writing out one of the little arguments about science and revelation, about heredity and duty, which, in the intervals of preaching, came so easily to birth in the favouring atmosphere of Indian clubs and meetings. I am convinced that all these exercises are less important in themselves than as showing the readiness of the English-Indian mind to shake off the fetters of the rigid specialisation which sets theology over against science, piety in conflict with common sense, faith at odds with experience, and so fills with some kind of materialism the mind that ought to grow in the sacramental view of life.

Yes, after the most careful self-examination I can reach, after the sincerest scrutiny of an experience very short but, through the goodness of others, very intense, I am entirely convinced that India, so long familiar to our thoughts, now sends us a new call.

India has been for the English the scene of shining exploits, of honour without end, of the higher courage, of the clearest, humblest Christian faith. And for us at home it has been from our boyhood filled with the

rumour of famous actions, and peopled by figures of splendour, of gravity, of tenderness. What English heart has not thrilled from the very beginning of its intelligence to the names of Havelock, Lawrence, Clyde? And if I set here no other names, it is because the list, in so many diverse paths of heroic and selfless endeavour, can never be completed, and because our presently urgent duty is to see the new greatness of which that land of old and just renown must be the scene. We have thought of it as a land of romance, of dignified achievement, of victories for the genius of our race in law, administration, civilization. We have thought of it, in another light, as a land of arduous labour and suffering for the Gospel; and when we visited it we saw at work the strong successors of the old evangelists. It was good to trace the footsteps of St. Thomas, of St. Francis, of Heber and Martyn, and to see the old paths trodden still.

But something new was revealed as well. We saw a land of many needs, of conscious need. What we had reverenced as the great monument of English moral power now shows itself to us little men as wise to use even such help as ours; wise to use it and really needing it. Everywhere that I went in India it was imagined that the home-keeping English thought little of India, and must be persuaded it was worth regard. In real fact the home-keeping Englishman knows of India as stately and famous, and has to learn that India is hard-pressed and scantily supplied. We came to see grandeur, and we found something better. We found humanity, and that need which every man has of what other men can, so mysteriously, supply.

Is it not wonderful if in our time and with our

small means there is something fresh to do for India? that we have at last been awakened to a real chance of helping—save the word—our distinguished relation? I am sure the chance is real, the need is real.

And if at another time we give ourselves with fresh sincerity to listen to the call of Indian India, and of English-speaking native-born India, on *this* page let me still insist on the claim—if I may so call it—of our very own men and women upon every ounce of simple, ardent, reverent service we can possibly render from England in the West. These men in the heat are simply ourselves over again. They left us yesterday and will return to-morrow. But somehow in India our English nature has learned a new candour, and exercises a new attraction of appeal.

If only we could answer that appeal *now*; if only we could speak comfortably to our own folk *there*, while they are there! We need a tremendous change here "at home" to be fit for any such work. Shall we find power to shake off our own sloth; shall we find healing for our own sicknesses, and wealth for our own deep poverty, and a clear light of deliverance from our own bewilderment? It may be that English England will, by the call of English India, be made whole, and receive to great profit the grace which we always receive in vain when we receive it for our own poor sakes.

Certainly if any gift of "understanding" should arise among us, that operation of the One Spirit will nowhere in the world be more eagerly welcomed than in India by men of every race.

VI

PERSONAL RELIGION

By the Rev. G. VERNON SMITH, M.A., M.C., Rector of Hackney, Hon. Chaplain to the Bishop of London.

Among the many other things that many of us learned upon the Mission of Help must certainly be included the meaning and value of Mail Day. Perhaps one has to go to India, or far across the seas, to find out how much it is possible to long to be in touch with one's true home. How eagerly everyone waits for the arrival of the mail! Many of the missioners feel a similar eagerness now as Monday comes and brings with it two or three letters, which keep us in touch with some of the people we met in India. It is by the mail that we keep in touch, and for that reason you in India look out for your letters and papers from home. As life goes on we begin to find out how easy it is to get out of touch with friends, even if we have no desire or intention to do so. And when once we have lost touch we feel a bit strange when we meet again; we find it difficult to know what to talk about, and we seem to have but few common interests.

It always seems to be a pity to lose touch, and that, I think, is one of the reasons why we are writing this book. It is not that we want to preach any more sermons; there were enough of them upon the Mission.

We want to keep in touch with those whom we met all over India, Burmah, and Ceylon, and we think that perhaps this book may help to do that in some small way.

This chapter is to be on the subject of "Personal Religion," and its object, therefore, is to try to think how we are to keep in touch with God, so that in all the changes and chances of our mortal life, and wherever we may be, we may preserve His peace in our hearts and try to do His will.

For our personal religion (so it seems to me) depends upon the effort that we make to keep in touch with God. If this means that we should try to form some definite rules of life, there is no reason why these rules should be a burden or anything but a joy. They should be the links that bind us to God. We write home because we love to do so—not simply because we ought to—and a man makes a rule never to miss the mail and his letter home, because his letter is the expression of his love. His rule is not a burden, but becomes one of the happinesses of his life.

Many people came into closer touch with God through the Mission.

There are those in every part of India, Burmah, and Ceylon for whom the memory of the days of the Mission will never fade away. It was for them a new beginning, a fresh revelation of the truth of the Christian Faith, a drawing aside of a curtain, and a making clear of many things that had been but partially or dimly understood. Their eyes were opened to see the truth more plainly than ever before. Their ears were opened to hear a message which made their hearts burn within them. Out of the dryness (as some had thought it

to be) of religious observance there sprang a new life. Services, prayers, hymns became full of light and new meaning. In the midst of all the responsibilities and duties of life we heard the good news of the Christ, the Everlasting Son of the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, and King of Love.

And we found that His message had not lost its ancient power. Again, as of old in Galilee, He touched the lives of men and women, opened their eyes, healed their wounds, and gladdened their hearts. Not a few who had rather lost touch since the days of youth found out how ready He is to welcome us back when we are ready to return.

How are we to carry on? Already the Mission itself may seem to be a thing of the past, for many things have happened in the last few months. That may be. But the truths which were then proclaimed endure for ever. They are eternal. They never grow old. They are as fresh now as when you heard them a few months ago—although it is quite likely that they may have faded a little from our minds, so many are the thronging duties, pleasures, and activities which fill our lives, and threaten almost to crowd out the deeper thoughts which stir us in our hours of silence. This chapter upon personal religion is not to be simply an essay upon the nature and the number of the services that we ought to attend, or the length of the prayers that we ought to say, or the number of the verses of the Bible that we should read daily, or the kind of religious books that we should study. All that must depend upon many things which differ in every life. Some live far from any church in lonely places. Some are so busy that they have very little time for

prayer or reading. We could never find a rule of life which would suit us all. We must try to get to the root of the matter, and see how best we can keep in touch with our Lord, so that in all the perplexities of our lives we may have His wisdom to guide us, in all the difficulties His strength and courage. Then we shall each realise the truth of the promise to the disciples—"I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

I

We must first of all get rid of the fallacy that it is a selfish or unpractical thing to care for our spiritual life. There are always plenty of people who will tell us that religion simply consists of our daily actions. "My religion is to lead a straight life, and to do to my neighbour as I would that he should do unto me."

English people especially want, as they say, a practical religion. Of course, there is something radically wrong about a personal religion which is not intensely practical, and which does not show itself in a practical Christian life. Our Lord condemns, in the most severe terms, religious exercises which are barren and produce no fruit. A personal religion which consists of long prayers and spiritual exercises, but does not produce a Christian character, is entirely on wrong lines. But the man who wants a practical religion, as he calls it, is apt to forget that there is no true fruit borne anywhere without a hidden life behind which men do not see, but upon which in reality everything depends. A bunch of grapes is put upon the table, and we all take and enjoy the fruit which is the gift of the unselfish vine. Yet, as we eat the grapes we

hardly think of the life in the vine which has burst forth into the fruit. No grapes would be found upon a vine which had no life within the stem unseen to the eye of man. When a true Christian moves about amongst us, we admire the strong, brave, pure, unselfish life. We thank God for the wonderful fruits of the Spirit which the life shows—love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance. But we do not often stop to think of that inner life which lies behind, but which is the very source of all that we see and admire and long to copy. "He that abideth in Me, and I in him," the Master said, "the same beareth much fruit, for apart from Me ye can do nothing."

This fact, that there is always an external life which the world sees and an inner life which lies behind, is one that meets us every day on every side. We go, for instance, to a cricket match and watch a master of the art of batting make a century. We see eye, hand, and brain work together with perfect ease and freedom. It all looks so simple and natural, that we wonder at our own poor efforts. But sometimes we forget the long and patient hours that have been spent at the nets, out of sight of the crowd. Yet it was there in the early days of practice that the victory over the bowler was really won. Or we applaud the skilful pianist and violinist, and marvel at the free and easy way in which the nimble fingers fly up and down the instrument with never a mistake. But we forget the hours and hours which have been spent at scales and exercises before any degree of perfection was attained. But that hidden life was out of sight, and without it we should never have listened to the music which inspired and thrilled

our hearts. For that matter we do not want to listen to the scales any more than we want to hear a man always talking about his prayers and his spiritual life. We want to see the result. We like to hear a good pianist, and we like to see a good Christian life. But we have not thought things out very carefully if we think that there is no inner life of prayer and effort behind that life which seems so full of grace and power. The truth of the matter is that the Christian life is not only a life of Christian activity in the world, but also a life, as St. Paul says, which is "hid with Christ in God." The true Christian life in the world is not something that we can live merely by trying hard enough. Many of us think that we have only got to try really earnestly, and that would be quite sufficient. Christian graces only spring out of an unseen life in which the soul keeps in touch with God. There is all the difference in the world between a tree upon which artificial fruits are hung, and one which from the life within it produces a natural fruit. And there is all the difference in the world between a prig and a Christian. The one hangs artificial fruit upon his life (and it does not attract us). The other tries to forget self, and live in touch with God, and let God bring forth fruit in his life.

The truth as to the relation of the inward to the outward life becomes very clear as we read the lives of the great Christians. Take, for instance, the greatest of all, St. Paul. When we are young the life of St. Paul appeals to us by its tremendous heroism. Here was an intensely practical, courageous, adventurous life. Here was a man who toiled and struggled and served his fellow-men to the very end. All the world can see

that gallant life and pay homage to it. But, as life goes on and we turn from the book of the Acts and read the Epistles, more and more we become increasingly conscious of the secret of that wonderful life. We watch, as he opens his heart in his letters to his friends and converts, the great inner struggle of the man who died daily to sin, who beat and buffeted his body lest he should fall away, who was in constant touch with God in prayer. He was a hard-working Christian: "I laboured more abundantly than they all," he says; but there was another side to it, "yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me."

We see this truth at its highest in the life of our Lord Himself. We love to think of Him in those words in the Acts of the Apostles which bring to the mind's eye the picture of His active life. "He went about doing good." As the great Healer of men's souls and bodies, as the Friend of all men and women, as the Teacher who spake as never man spake, we watch Him in the villages and fields, by the lake and in the crowded cities. But there is another side to His life which the careful reader of the Gospel narratives notices. However busy the days might be, there is the quiet morning hour apart from even His disciples. There are the long lonely nights upon the hills, and there is the great struggle in the wilderness before the ministry began.

There is a life of constant communion with the Father about which the mass of the people know nothing. That band of disciples who longed to help Him in His work, and who were beginning to try to follow in His steps, showed that they had caught the real secret of His life when they said (knowing the

poverty of their own spirits): "Lord, teach us to pray"; and when they cried to Him: "Increase our faith."

It is, therefore, no selfish course to try to learn how we may keep our inner life, the source of all our true activity, strong and pure and close to God. The spring is soon dried up that does not draw fresh supplies of water from the everlasting hills. Even the effect of a Mission will wear off if we do not replenish day by day the fire of Divine love which then was kindled in our hearts. We often hear the words: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven"—the call to a life of practical Christian works. But a lamp will soon give out if there is no hidden store of oil. It is only as we care for the whole of life that we can ever become our best, and, therefore, the really selfish man is he who neglects his personal religion and fails in consequence to give of the best that he might be to the world.

Life has many strains put upon it, and in India there are special difficulties of which we who travelled through the land so quickly as missioners have but little understanding. But we saw enough to realise how hard must be those constant partings which call for and are met by such constant courage. There is all that uncertainty about the future, increased to a real anxiety in these difficult days. There are those tragedies which happen so swiftly. There is the climate, so that those who only know what the so-called cold weather is like can begin to guess what it must be to bear "the burden and heat of the day." There is the loneliness, and the indefinable non-Christian "atmosphere." Our religion is to help us to

be our best in the midst of all our duties and difficulties. God expects that we should try to *be* our best—not only to do our best. "For their sakes I sanctify Myself," was a motto of our Lord's life. Be it reverently said, it was altogether unselfish that He gave Himself to prayer; for thus that wonderful life was made so strong that He endured the Cross.

The light of the inner consecration has fallen over every life where there is quiet sanctification for the sake of others. Many a man or woman has tried to be his or her best for the sake of another. There are real big and worthy reasons which lead men to deny themselves. There may be no harm at all in bridge and a short drink . . . but there are limits, and a man sets those limits when he sees a younger and perhaps weaker life beginning to drift with the stream. We can never estimate how important it is that we should be our best. Great as are the problems of Indian life to-day, and great as are the opportunities, much must always depend upon the lives and characters of the ordinary men and women. We may have a great vision of the place which the Empire should fill in the purpose of God, and in the history of mankind. We may gain an increasing realisation of the mission of the Church to proclaim the Truth throughout the world. Yet it does not depend only upon Governments to make that vision a reality and not a dream, or upon bishops and clergy primarily to make that mission of the Church effective. It really depends upon us all, upon "what manner of persons we are."

In the war, great and splendid as was the strategy of the Allied armies in that last year of victory, the success really depended upon the officers and men

who carried out the plans. The morale of the troops counted for more than anything else. So it has been in the past in India.

To have travelled throughout India on the Mission of Help is to have come to understand plainly what one had always believed, that, however great may have been our statesmen, and however wise our Parliaments or Councils in the past, it was due to the personal lives and scrupulous integrity and honour of generations of men and women who gave their lives for India that, as the Archbishop of York said in his speech of welcome to the missioners on their return, " the great Indian peace was secured."

II

The promise of the Gospel is nothing less than that our spirits may be so in touch with God that they need never grow old or die. " Though our outward man is decaying," St. Paul says, " yet our inward man is renewed day by day." It is obvious that everything that can be measured by time grows old. As the years pass and the ranks of our friends thin out, as the body begins to grow less active and grey hairs come and wrinkles begin to show upon the face, we come to feel that all things come to an end. Death, " the shadow feared of man," waits for us all. And so it comes that about middle life, unless we have some true faith and some strong life within, we begin to grow weary, and often cynical. Then comes to us our Lord's message: " I am come that they may have life, and may have it more abundantly"; and St. Paul's triumphant proclamation that the spirit which lives in this ever-ageing body may remain eternally young. For that which is

daily made new can never become old. The spirit that is in touch with God can never grow old. For God does not grow old. He is outside time and ever the same. He is eternal, and we are promised a life within our hearts springing from the mystical union of the soul with God which is called eternal life. "This is life eternal," our Lord says, "that they should know Thee, the one true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." Our religion, therefore, is not simply a moral code which will tell us what we ought to do (how we dislike that kind of religion which poses as a policeman !), but the promise of a life within which will spring up and carry us through all the days of our earthly life, and at the last bring us in triumph through the gate of death to life eternal.

The union of the Christian soul with God is such that nothing but wilful sin can break it. "I am persuaded," says St. Paul, "that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." The man, therefore, who is in touch with God has no longer only his own limited resources to rely upon. He can draw upon the inexhaustible riches of the treasury of God. For man is finite—the word means limited—and everything he possesses soon comes to an end. But God is infinite—boundless, unlimited in His Being. And the realisation of this makes all the difference as we live our lives. Think how limited our wisdom is. The wisest man is most aware of his limitations. Only the very young or ignorant think they are infallible. When the problems and per-

plexities of life come upon us, we are soon puzzled what to do. But the wisdom of God is boundless, and when we pray that we may have a right judgment in all things, we have the promise of our Lord that "the Holy Spirit will guide us into all truth." Again, how limited is our strength. It is not merely that we are soon tired out physically. We find ourselves falling again and again before the same temptation, and at times discouraged by the slow progress that we make in the struggle. But we are in touch with Him Who said: "All power is given unto Me," and we need have no fears that in His strength we shall not conquer. Again, our love is very limited when we lay it alongside the boundless love of God. St. Peter was a very human man, and it was a very human question when he asked, "How often shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him; until seven times?"

It was the very natural desire to know when he might give up trying to help a difficult and troublesome person. The answer of Infinite Love, "I say not unto thee until seven times, but until seventy times seven," revealed that the love of God never ceases, and it is with that kind of love that we are in touch. So, too, with our courage. We may be brave enough physically, but how often our moral courage oozes right away on the first occasion that we have to face a laugh. Yet we may be in touch with Him Whose courage was boundless and unlimited, Who endured all things and was faithful even unto death. Our personal religion means, therefore, that we can be in touch with our Lord Who overcame death and conquered sin, and that we, through Him, may be enabled to share His victory. No wonder, therefore, that through all the

ages men have turned to the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life, with the words of the ancient hymn upon their lips: "Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire." As the country looks smiling and fresh after the storm and ever new, so he whose life is hid with Christ in God emerges as life goes on from all its cares and sorrows and struggles more calm, more trustful, more serene. For he meets them in a strength that is not his own, and so is not embittered by them. Day by day the jaded human soul receives fresh life as it waits upon God. The future is calmly faced:

> Grow old along with me.
> The best is yet to be,
> The last of life for which the first was made.
> Our times are in His hand
> Who saith, "A whole I planned,
> Youth shows but half; trust God; see all nor be afraid."

Nevertheless, the truth of this can only be proved by personal experience. We must ourselves set out upon the road in faith if we are to find the way. The sorrowful thing is that so many of us miss so much of the joy of life because we do not take our opportunities. A man may travel in a railway train and never once look out at the view, although he may be passing through lovely country. The glory of the mountains, the rivers, and the trees may be all round him, and yet he has eyes and sees not. It all, so to speak, passes him by—or he passes it by unheeding. But it is not unreal because he does not see it, though it may be unreal to him. It is outside him until he opens his eyes and looks upon it, and then by that very act he makes it his own. The view becomes part of his experience. That which is outside him no longer remains outside

him. It is brought within. Similarly the air may be filled with messages that are flashed through it—broadcasted in every direction. But they are nothing to me unless I tune my instrument and open my ears so that the messages come within my life.

The eye is very small, and yet it can by a very small motion open and take in a very great deal. So too, the ear, tiny as it is, can yet without difficulty receive the crash of the thunder or the whisper of a human voice.

We believe that God is everywhere present. He waits for us, and we only need a very little faith that we may accomplish that great and wonderful thing of bringing the soul into touch with Him. "If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed," our Lord said. He is ready for us, "more ready," as the old prayer says, "to hear than we to pray." But we must in faith try to keep in touch with Him.

III

What, then, are we to do if we are to keep closely in touch with God? What kind of rule of life must we make? First of all, without any doubt, we must try to pray. It is not easy to pray, and we have to learn. After all, we are but disciples, and the very word means learners. We need not worry, therefore, because our prayers are but poor ones. This chapter is much too short to make it possible to deal at any length with the great subject of prayer. The very fact that we want to be in touch with God, and to strengthen and deepen the life of the spirit, creates in us a prayerful attitude. It will probably be most helpful to think

more about our actual prayers, both private and public, and how we may improve them in a few simple ways. Many of us, when we come to examine the prayer that we actually say, find that it is very easy to get into a groove and to repeat the same prayers, often those we have learned as children, with hardly any variety. Often, too, we become so familiar with the regular services of the Church that we may forget the great beauty of them. We can learn a great deal to help us from St. Paul's expression, " making melody in your heart unto the Lord." Music has much to teach us with regard to prayer. A melody is something that is quite simple, and at the same time beautiful. In fact, as a rule, the simpler the melody the more beautiful it is. It is played upon a very few notes, and yet the same notes are the structure out of which every melody is made. Few though the notes are, there is an infinite variety in the different melodies. In fact, there is no limit to the variations of melodies which may come from the notes of the octave.

A melody is made up of an arrangement of the different notes with suitable pauses and short rests. Everyone knows the difference between a melody and the continual playing of the same note over and over again. The song of the nightingale and that of the brain-fever bird are very different! Consider this thought with regard to prayer, and let us test our own prayers by the standard that it suggests.

In prayer the soul of man reaches out towards God, and as there are multitudes of men, all of whom are different, so there are no two hearts whose desires or needs are identical. There are times when the soul desires to dwell upon the low and soft note of penitence.

Again, there are days when it longs to burst into the highest notes of praise. There are just a few different notes which are the structure upon which all true prayers are built. Blended together they make that melody in the heart of which St. Paul speaks. There are many who think that prayer is primarily asking God for things that we need. Of course, petition is one of the notes which should be found in every prayer, but the prayer that simply consists of requests, is like a perpetual repetition of the same note—give, give, give. Again, we must not strike the note of wretchedness too much or too repeatedly. It is true that blended into every prayer will be the note of sorrow for sin, and we shall ask God to forgive our many failures. But it is only monotony, not melody, to play upon the one note—have mercy, have mercy, have mercy—without any variety at all. Into our prayers we must try to bring the note of praise and thanksgiving, and intercession for others, as well as those of penitence and petition. And there must be that pause of silence while we wait upon God and try to realise His presence and to Whom we pray. Test your prayers by this rule. Were they a melody last night and this morning in which each note had a place, or were they simply the repetition of the same note over and over again? We frame our prayers upon the principles of the Lord's Prayer; "After this manner pray ye," our Lord said as He taught His disciples the prayer. As we think over the meaning of its words, we find within it the great notes of praise and thanksgiving, "Hallowed be Thy Name. Thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory." There is the note of penitence, "Forgive us our trespasses," and of petition, "Give us this day

our daily bread," while the whole is a great act of intercession, for everyone who uses the prayer places himself with all the great family of God as he says "Our Father."

It is the glory of our Prayer-Book services that they are so drawn up that they teach us how to produce this melody in public prayer. The service of Holy Communion is a Eucharist in which praise and thanksgiving reach their height in the *Gloria in Excelsis*. It is a service, too, in which, remembering the great sacrifice upon the Cross, we humbly confess and ask pardon for our sins. And as we bring our own deep needs before God, we unite ourselves in a great act of intercession for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here upon earth. And our prayers and worship are lifted up with all the company of heaven.

So, too, in the familiar services of Morning and Evening Prayer. There is the low note of the general Confession upon which we begin, a note which swells up to the high note of praise and thanksgiving in the *Te Deum*. There are all the Collects with their petitions for our many needs, and there is the Litany with its all-embracing intercessions. Sometimes we wish there were greater freedom in our worship, and greater elasticity in our services. No doubt there is room and need for many additions to our Prayer-Book. But there is always the danger that when services are prepared by individual ministers of religion, they will be drawn up in accordance with the particular mood in which the man happens to be. Some of the notes may be left out and the melody spoilt. There is a perfection about the great services of the Church which have been the expression of the people's worship for

generations, and this comes from the blending of all the notes of prayer.

It is often said, " I can say my prayers equally well at home, and I see no reason why I should go to church." But there is just that difference between private and public prayer that there is between playing a solo on an instrument and taking a part in the orchestra. There is a wonderful beauty about a well-played solo. But there is also a richness and grandeur when many instruments combine together. The truth is that both are needed. While the soul must pray alone to the Father Who seeth in secret, it must also take its part in the great choir which joins in giving united worship to God. " Do not," therefore, " forsake the assembling of yourselves together as the manner of some is."

Our rule of life will not stop short at prayer. We shall certainly try to keep in touch with our Lord by careful reading of the Bible, especially of the Gospels. It is recorded there that " they watched Him," and if we are to learn more about our Lord—how He acts, what He says and does—we also must watch Him as we follow in thought again and again the steps of His most holy life from Bethlehem to Calvary and the Mount of the Ascension. We are told that the Blessed Virgin Mary " pondered "—that is to say, " weighed up all that He said," and we must do the same. The word " meditation," a word so thoroughly understood by the Eastern, rather frightens many English people. Yet it means, in reality, carefully pondering over the great truths and the words of Holy Scripture after asking for light to show us their true meaning. " Man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word which

proceedeth out of the mouth of God." When we walk through one of the great picture-galleries of Europe we can see at a glance that there is all the difference between the casual visitor who hurries through casting a rapid glance around him, and the man who silently stands for many minutes before a great masterpiece, so that its meaning may sink into his mind. And there are always some real students who study every detail. So there is all the difference between the knowledge of the Gospels that is gained from hearing every now and then a passage read in church, and from a quiet, reverent daily reading and thinking about a few verses. We have great need of meditation.

Of all the opportunities which we have of keeping in touch with God, the sacrament of Holy Communion, which our Lord Himself instituted, is the greatest. Experience alone can prove the truth of this. "This is the only service that I seem to want to come to," is the verdict of many as life goes on. There is no doubt that from the earliest date this service was not only the central feature of the worship of the whole Church, but also the mainstay of every individual Christian's life. "They continued steadfastly in the breaking of bread," is said of the first Christians. Our Lord, when He said "Drink ye all of this . . . do this in remembrance of Me," not only gave a command to every disciple, but drew together the whole body in a great act which marked their fellowship with Him and one another. "We all partake of the one bread." Yet there are many who do not come to the Holy Communion, often because they think they are not good enough to do so. Sometimes the words in the

long exhortation in the Prayer-Book frighten us away. If our conscience is uneasy and our soul troubled, so that we feel we have really "lost touch" and cannot find the way back, we can open our grief to God in the presence of a priest, and "by the ministry of God's holy word receive the benefit of absolution," so that the conscience is at rest, and doubts and fears removed. Many found the peace of God in this way in the Mission. We must remember that the Holy Communion is a "means of grace." It is not a reward for us when we have conquered in the fight, so that we are to stay away until the day when temptations will have ceased. That day will never come in this world. It is the food by means of which the weak and sinful children of men are given grace to persevere. Here, too, with "Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven," we are lifted up above the things of earth, and have our part in the worship of the Lamb that was slain. Many of us—it would be best to say all of us—know that there are depths of meaning in this service which we shall never fathom. But we obey our Lord's command in faith with something of the spirit of Queen Elizabeth, who wrote these words expressing her own belief:

> His was the Word that spake it;
> He took the bread, and brake it;
> And what that Word did make it,
> I do believe and take it.

And here we shall find peace and rest for our souls.

IV

We have most of us found out already that it needs much perseverance to hold faithfully to our prayers, our Bible reading, and our Communions. The old prophet who said, "Can two walk together except they be agreed?" knew what he was talking about. Unless they have common interests they separate. And we, too, find that the more we keep close to God the more stern becomes the battle against sin. The things that come between us and God must go . . . or else we shall find we are giving up our prayers. This is what it means to take up the Cross in daily life. We are following Another, and we want to do His will. Without any doubt at all we shall come to the cross-roads—that is to say, the place where duty and inclination run in opposite directions. Our will cuts across the will of God for us, and we have to decide which way we go. To persevere in the right way is to bear the Cross, and choose the braver part—to carry on when things are hard. Our Lord endured, He carried on, and by His victory He opened up a way for us. "When Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers."

In the bearing of the Cross, in sacrifice, we begin to find our deepest happiness. This is not so hard to understand as it may sound. In the war many found the truth of it.

The true player wants a hard game, and not a walk over, and his is a poor spirit that only requires a soft job. An effort which draws out all our powers is the one that is worth making. So the big gallant fight of bearing the Cross, and battling on for God and sticking

close to the Leader, is the real deep joy of life. It is supremely worth doing. It is the way in which, in some small measure, we may help to build the Kingdom.

As we bear the Cross we shall learn the power of the Resurrection. For this is all the difference. " Jesus went out bearing the Cross for Himself." We bear the Cross in the strength of the Risen Lord. If we take His yoke upon us we are linked with Him, and the burden is carried by Him.

As we try to bear the Cross ourselves we shall begin to sympathise more fully with others. In all their struggles, endurances, and sorrows we shall be able to place ourselves alongside of them and to help them. Thus as we share the fellowship of the sufferings of Christ we learn the fellowship of the Church.

It is hard really to understand anything we have not tried to do. It is the good musician, who knows the difficulties, who will be the kind critic of your poor efforts, not the person who cannot play a note. I well remember, after I had been playing numbers of tunes, a working man who asked me, " How long would it take me to do that, 'bout a half-hour ?" So, too, it is the man who is trying who will be able to sympathise with others. He has found out how hard it is to succeed. The world turns round and rends the Christian for the tiniest slip he makes—and flings in his face that he goes to church and is no better than any one else. But the world is not trying, and does not know the hardness of the battle. It is always necessary to try to do a man's job before your condemnation of him is worth listening to. That, no doubt, is why " He is able to save to the uttermost," because " He

was in all points tempted like as we are, but without sin." He became man, and therefore can save man.

So we shall find ever that our power of helping others will have increased the more we have allowed God to help us. There is often a real truth in some of the old mythology. The giant Antæus gained all his strength from Mother Earth. Every time his feet touched the earth his strength increased. But let him once be lifted up and cut off from the earth, and his strength slowly ebbed away. The more a man keeps near to God the greater grows his strength, and hence his usefulness. But if he drifts away he soon grows weak, and the great enemy of man finds him an easy victim.

We have thought, then, about the inner life, in order that we may be able to play our part better in the world. For the Church of God, to which we belong, exists to build the Kingdom. As we look around there is much to make us think that there never existed a greater need for men and women of goodwill than the need which exists to-day. We may pray and humbly hope that we may be allowed to have some part in the work of that great company of men and women who, in every age, have tried to serve the world by serving God.

As we each help to do our best in the place where we are set to serve, we shall do something to bring closer the day when " the kingdoms of this world will have become the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ." We who remain in England cannot but feel that in India you have a splendid part to play. In the great vision of the Heavenly City, as the Seer gazed upon its streets and beheld there the peoples of the

world, in great prophetic words he said: "They shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it."

To Christian people, wherever they may be, the words of our Lord come back again and again, as at once an inspiration and a challenge: "Ye are the light of the world. . . . Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."

VII

THE SOCIAL APPLICATION OF CHRISTIANITY

By JESSIE E. HIGSON, Warden of the Josephine Butler Memorial House, Liverpool.

The message of the Mission of Help to India must necessarily have had many different aspects, carried as it was by men and women of very different experience and outlook. There had been other Missions of Help of the same character, but never before had women been invited to share in such an adventure. That in itself led to special developments, and gave to the history of the Mission certain characteristics, though the small band of six women was in no way adequate for the great opportunities which met them at every turn.

In writing of this side of the Mission I feel it can best be described by Julian of Norwich: "Wouldst thou learn thy Lord's meaning in this thing? Learn it well. Love was His meaning." Whatever may have been our ideas regarding our message before we arrived in India, once there they were gathered up into a great longing to convey the knowledge of the Love of God in the face of Jesus Christ to those whom we met, and to call out in them a responding love which would show itself in service where the needs and opportunities are so great. Few of us can have any doubt

as to the importance of the part women are being called to play in the progress of the world, and nowhere is this more marked than in India. Whether amongst English or Indian women we were constantly reminded of Ruskin's words: "Wherever a good woman goes, there is home." And no tribute of admiration or gratitude is too great for the many homes we were privileged to share where all that is best in home life is kept by those brave women who make "a little bit of England" just where they are for the men to whom it means everything.

This is no easy task, and it was here we had first to ask ourselves: "What message do we bring?" Beneath all the gay courage, the social life of clubs, dances, games, sport, there are depths of unsatisfied desire—unexpressed longings, anxieties, hunger of mind and spirit, which met us in most unexpected places. If life is more full of colour and freedom in the East, it also holds sudden tragedies, unexpected reactions, as well as the long days of separation from children, and between husband and wife. Nowhere could it be more vital that women should hold high the standard of strong, pure love—in the home, and in individual relationships.

The Englishwoman has held a revered place in the mind of India as a type of all that is noble and good. As India's daughters develop and come to the larger life of education and national service, it is all-important that this ideal should be maintained in so far as it is the Christian ideal of womanhood. It is greatly to be regretted that cinema films should ever depict to Indian audiences stories which lower the English standard of womanhood and home life generally. Who

can estimate what such an ideal means to our men in the Army and Civil Service in keeping alive in them all that is best, in maintaining a social life which shall be truly recreative. What application had our message here? Could it meet the demands of circumstances so entirely different from the old home life? Had it anything to say to the demands of this vital existence, to the ordinary men and women of the clubs, of the cantonment, and the loneliness of the isolated planter and his wife? To many it was a real surprise to find that we included them in our appeal, and that unless we believed in the application of the teaching of Jesus Christ to our social relationships, we had no message for the world outside. All human love, friendship, the interdependence of men and women, must form a part of that which is energised by the revelation of the Love of God, and transformed by His Spirit. Many are surely withheld from associating themselves with the fellowship of the Kingdom of God, because they have never realised that the "good news" has any application to the ordinary everyday relationships which form the basis of life. The longing and passion, the heart-ache and separation, the problems of parenthood, the joys as well as the difficulties of such relationships, have for so many been considered as things apart. Into all these the Mission found an entrance, not easily at first, but as confidence was established with an increasing welcome, which humbled those who were thus trusted with the sharing of many lives. Nothing less than the Infinite Love of God could satisfy the hunger of these lives; nothing less than the Human Heart of Jesus could understand their needs; nothing less than the invincible power of the Spirit could give

the dynamic sufficient to guide them aright. "I am come that they may have life," was a new evangel to many when they found that life bringing a new sense of values into everyday things.

There are those who question whether there is any hunger of the spirit amongst the men and women who form the ordinary social life of to-day. Those of us who believe the divine spark in every soul responds to the attractive power of goodness had ample proof in the experience of the Mission that this hunger does exist, though often unexpressed.

Beneath the veriest ash there hides a spark
Which, quickened by love's breath, may yet pervade the whole
O' the grey, and, free again, be fire, of worth the same
Howe'er produced, for great or little flame is flame.

As that flame is fanned into fire by the breath of the Spirit, whatever the problem of home or individual life may be, it finds its answer.

It was inevitable that the application of our message could not stop there. The aspirations of self-sacrificing service are writ large over the history of English men and women in India, and the most casual visitor cannot but be impressed by that faithful and efficient service in military and civil life, and in the great missionary enterprises. It is given so simply, with so little self-advertisement, often receiving so little recognition, yet full of great responsibilities. And again we were forced to ask ourselves, in face of this faithful service for the Empire, with all its complex difficulties of the present time: "What message have we brought regarding the still wider question of service for the Kingdom of God?" If "love be His meaning" for the individual, how should it apply to the great

social problems of India, and what contribution can be made by those whose hearts have been fanned into new energy? It was not for us with our very limited and superficial knowledge of life in India to suggest detailed ways of service. We could but speak of general conditions and make an appeal for service, especially to the women, believing that to them has been entrusted a great opportunity of leadership in India. Very true it is that of some it may be said, "You shut yourselves within your park walls and garden gates, and you are content to know that beyond them there is a whole world in wilderness—a world of secrets which you dare not penetrate—and of suffering which you dare not conceive." There are special difficulties of climate, health, constant furloughs, etc., which make irresponsibility an easy thing; but love will never seek to evade responsibility because of difficulties however great. To touch the Christ with one hand is to be impelled to stretch out the other in service for others, for love must find expression.

In every club where we spoke of this joy of service, at every meeting where the larger life of fellowship was discussed, the practical question always followed: "What can we do?" It was not difficult to indicate where some outstanding needs lay, though the details of how the work should be carried out had to be left to some of those who knew more of India's difficulties.

The cry of the children—whether Indian or Anglo-Indian—is great, and those who have begun Infant Welfare Work in India are only at the beginning of a gigantic field of service, where many recruits are needed. Problems of education call aloud for sympathetic understanding. The onward march of Western thought

cannot be stopped, but the need for teachers and schools is great, as has been pointed out elsewhere in this book. Some system of after-care in the schools, especially amongst the Anglo-Indians, might give many a boy or girl the necessary chance in life, without which they must inevitably sink into the general squalor which forms their environment. How to get a living at all seems an almost impossible proposition for many young Anglo-Indians, who, whatever their faults or failings may be, are a part of the permanent community of India to-day. There can be no real progress of the Kingdom which does not take into account this pitifully submerged section of the community, and to begin with the children is one way of hope.

There is no space in one short chapter to deal with the even more difficult problem of that nether world from which the average woman is carefully shielded, and for which men and women alike are loth to accept any responsibility. But who that has walked through certain streets and thoroughfares in the large cities of India, with seeing eyes, can forget the responsibility laid upon them for a condition of things which could not be tolerated by any man or woman unless they were prepared to defend evil? Thank God, there are women in India, English and Indian, who refuse any longer to shelter behind the walls of their own comfort and ignorance of things as they are, but who are demanding that light and knowledge be brought into these dark places. There are men also who are recognising their responsibility in allowing commercialised vice to continue, and who refuse to adopt a double moral standard. Nothing was more remarkable during the

Mission than the large number of English soldiers and Indian students who attended some of the special meetings on behalf of social purity. A great work waits to be done in rousing public opinion, in bringing facts to light, so that houses of ill-fame shall be no longer recognised as necessary, much less used by Englishmen.

In this great campaign for right thinking, women can lead the way, with a burning indignation for their sisters, of whatever nationality they may be, who are thus enslaved, and a resolute refusal to believe that such degradation is necessary for any man.

Efforts are also being made for the redemption of children, and other young lives, caught in the toils of the evils of immorality. We would ask that all those who are engaged in this great work of protection and restoration may have the fullest possible support in a work which tests the courage of the bravest. At present such work is little known and recognised in India, but if the strongholds of evil are to be attacked, the help of every right-thinking man and woman is needed here. On this question all may unite, of whatever creed or nationality, who in any way care for the things of the spirit and recognise its supremacy over the body. It is hoped that one result of the Mission may be more definitely organised work for social purity by trained workers to help forward the existing work and to widen its usefulness, especially by means of educational work and by creating public opinion. Necessary legislation may do much, but right thinking can only be brought about by steady, persistent teaching amongst men and women of all classes. Much of this evil arises from want of knowledge of existing

conditions, and an amazing ignorance regarding the whole question of sex, and much preventable suffering waits to be removed by those who will be brave enough to ally themselves to those who are working for this cause in wise and carefully thought out ways. It is a problem on which no Englishwoman can look unmoved, if only for its effect on the young Englishman who must face the horrors of the power of suggestion by an evil which can be felt with an intensity which is indescribable. Probation work and prison visiting amongst young offenders call for volunteers, and offer a wonderfully interesting sphere of service to those who are ready to make the necessary venture.

There is so much service which might be described as a ministry of friendship. Whilst there is a spirit of wonderful camaraderie in the English community, it is possible to find instances of great loneliness. The soldier's wife needs real friendship in the strangeness of cantonment life, and much might be done to give her more interests, and to help her in all the difficulties of bringing up small children in a foreign climate. The long line of barracks is a strange contrast to the home life from which she comes, and the preparation she has for this change is scant indeed. The young man going into business in the great cities does not always find himself welcomed into the best homes, and there seems to be real need for an organised fellowship in the Churches, so that strangers may find themselves sought out, and drawn into vital Church life. It is hoped that the fellowship formed in Calcutta at the Cathedral after the Mission may be really useful in this way. The Calcutta League of Women Workers, which has already a membership of over 100, has

before it a most useful scheme of work. In a leaflet which has already been circulated in Calcutta, the Committee states:

"The League is an attempt to form a central organisation for all women who are ready to give their services to some form of social work. A register has been formed for work that is required and work that is offered. It is hoped that this central organisation will prove its worth, and eventually become an advisory council in the interests of all women and children.

"The encouragement of all educational schemes and interests, particularly those which have in view the uplifting of Indian and Anglo-Indian women and children, so as to enable them to support themselves, is another aim which the League will always keep in view. Great efforts will be made to improve the status of the shop-girl and others of her class in this city. As social organisers and leaders of girls' clubs, as employers and as teachers, we have not always understood the needs of the working girl, and as a nation we fail her badly. This is a question to be thought out and faced alongside those which should ultimately prove the girls' salvation, such as better education, recreation, and housing, etc., remembering always that the young girls of to-day are the future mothers of the race.

"It is self-evident to every right-thinking person that a great deal of legislation will be required in the near future to improve the health and social conditions of the people, and it is hoped that the League will be able to influence public opinion in this direction and prove themselves to be such a body whose advice may be sought after and valued by those in authority."

In Madras a Guild of Social Service was formed which hopes to undertake similar forms of service. In addition to this, at least nine branches of the "Wives' Fellowship" were started and linked to the home organisation. A special message has been sent through the Overseas Secretary from the Executive Committee:

"We do realise that the Fellowship cannot be organised in India as in England. But perhaps it may be an even stronger Fellowship, since it must chiefly depend on the purely spiritual bond of mutual prayer, and of ideals sought and realised in the service and through the love of Christ. We have always wished to emphasise this purely spiritual side of our Fellowship more than any other, and we feel that it is in this way that the link with India and the growth of the Fellowship over there can especially bring in to us new strength and power. The members must always be scattered far and wide by the force of circumstances, but they will carry with them, if our Fellowship is a reality, the sense of its support and the power of its prayers.

"We also greatly hope that we may find ways in which the Fellowship here may be of use to members in India by helping them in finding schools and holiday places for their children, and so giving practical effect to the sympathy we all feel to this hardest part of all the white woman's great burden of sacrifice in India—the agonising separations that haunt life out there."

All these means of binding women together for service should be a real help in meeting some of the peculiar difficulties of social service in India, and is giving permanence to it by filling up the unavoidable absences caused by frequent changes and furloughs.

The greatest difficulty so often seems to be that of leadership. There are many who would gladly help in various kinds of social service if there were more trained and experienced leaders. It is to be hoped that such may be forthcoming in increasing numbers; some system of women messengers who would travel about the dioceses to speak on subjects of special interest would be of very great value. There is so much goodwill which lacks direction and stimulus, and the linking up of those who should care for and help each other would make for much strength and encouragement. The loneliness of many of those engaged in the great missionary enterprises might be immensely lightened if they were drawn into the fellowship of a community who look upon their work with the admiration and understanding which would give it an honoured place in the whole scheme of progress. So many men and women in the cantonments and cities know little of the heroic lives lived by their own kith and kin in the slums of these cities or in the remote villages. To go with these missionaries into their work and see India from within would surely open a door of interest and romance so near to them, and yet to a great extent unknown.

No one going to Calcutta for the first time can fail to be impressed by the great beauty of the Maidan, across and around which the surging life of the great city sweeps in a wonderful mixture of East and West. The fine Cenotaph, so like the one in Whitehall, is a constant reminder that we are linked to our heroic dead and to India by unforgettable deeds of sacrifice and heroism which pledge us to responsibility. In thinking of our own ways of service we dare not offer

less than they did, though it may be given in very humble ways, but the spirit must be the same.

The greatest contribution which can be made by Englishwomen in India as elsewhere must ever be through their own personalities, by the spiritual uplift which they give in the home, in social life, in public service. No amount of organisation for social welfare, however excellent in itself, can bring about that which alone satisfies human need. Just in so far as she carries with her those spiritual qualities to whose influence men will ever yield, so will woman be the greatest force in bringing about a better social order and the coming of the Kingdom of God.

One Women's Fellowship in India has thus expressed its desire for such a spiritual outlook: "We desire that the Women's Fellowship be a gathering together of women who will first weed out of themselves all that is contrary to the ideal, and subsequently by their influence better the society to which they belong; that we who join the Fellowship may examine ourselves honestly for the thing that is keeping us from the ideal, such as laziness, unjust criticism, moral cowardice, disloyalty to religion, and endeavour to consecrate not only our work, but our thoughts and speech to the service of Christ; to obliterate self in our sympathy and understanding of others; to try and not shrivel up under sneers and misunderstandings, but to go out and meet them with the love and power of God within us. It would seem that if this Fellowship became a spiritual band of strong, silent workers, not depending wholly on meetings, debates, and organised schemes for well-doing, but in feeling that our unity consisted in the knowledge that each member in the Fellowship

to which we belonged had, on joining, consecrated herself to God, in this way the difficulty of what might be called 'officious' interference in the good work already begun would be overcome, and also distance would be no hindrance. Wherever we were we could all carry on the purpose of the Fellowship, however scattered the members might be."

If this be the spirit underlying all the service which the Mission sought to call out, there can be no doubt of its effectiveness. The message of the Mission was the compelling call of love; to follow Him "Whose service is perfect freedom," and in Whom alone lies the solution of India's problems.

What is the beginning? Love. What is the course? Love still.
What is the goal? The goal is Love on the happy hill.
Is there nothing then but Love, search we sky or earth?
There is nothing outside Love hath perpetual worth.
All things flag, but only Love—all things fail or flee,
There is nothing left but Love, worthy you and me.

VIII

THE MISSION OF HELP

By The Most Rev. FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta, Metropolitan of India.

I

It was the mind of Bishop Montgomery, so fertile in big ideas, that first conceived the thought of a Mission of Help to India on the lines of the Mission to South Africa which had been so wonderfully blessed. He was in touch with many workers in India who were conscious of the need of the Church, and were looking round for some means whereby it could be met.

It was in 1913 that Dr. G. A. Lefroy was translated from the Diocese of Lahore to that of Calcutta. To him the idea appealed strongly, and the near approach of the Centenary of the foundation of the Bishopric of Calcutta (the first in India) suggested that it might be fittingly celebrated by the sending from the Mother Church in England of such a Mission of Help. Dr. Lefroy was in England during the summer of 1914, and took an early opportunity of discussing with the Archbishop of Canterbury the possibility of carrying out the proposal. He found the Archbishop fully prepared to forward the scheme by all means in his power, and he helped the Bishop to secure a strong Committee to organise the Mission in England. The

Bishop of Winchester accepted the Chairmanship of this Committee, and the Rev. Canon J. O. Johnston, of Cuddesdon College, Oxford, undertook the Secretaryship. The time was too short to arrange for pioneers to visit India during the following cold weather, but it was hoped that in the autumn of 1915 they would be ready to start and India to receive them, but meanwhile the Great War had broken out, and though the scheme was not abandoned at once, as the months passed by it became evident that it must be postponed indefinitely.

Meanwhile a Committee had been appointed in India to gather necessary information and prepare the way for the pioneers. It was not till 1920, when the first meeting of the Provincial Assembly was being held in Calcutta, that the time seemed ripe for carrying out the project which had perforce remained in abeyance for nearly six years. A unanimous resolution was passed by the Assembly asking the Metropolitan to arrange for the coming of the Mission at the earliest moment. The Archbishop showed that his keenness for the scheme had in no way abated, and as before he rendered the Metropolitan the utmost assistance in the formation of a Committee. The Bishop of Winchester did not feel himself able to undertake the heavy work of Chairman, and the Bishop of Stepney took his place. Canon Johnston's health did not permit of his acting as Secretary, but Canon F. C. N. Hicks, who had just resigned the Principalship of Cheshunt College, agreed to undertake this work if the Rev. Cyril Mayne would assist him. Most of the Indian Bishops were at home for the Lambeth Conference, and they had the opportunity of meeting the members of the Committee and

discussing with them the various points connected with the sending of the Mission.

I have referred to the desire in many hearts that some way should be found of helping the Church in India. They were conscious of the magnificent opportunity awaiting it to reveal in the midst of a non-Christian world the true meaning and attractiveness, not only of the individual Christian life, but of the Christian spirit and power permeating the society in all its varied activities. The reality was far different. There were many faithful members of the Church finding in fellowship with God the source and spring of their own life, but there were many living quite apart from the life of the Church, taking no part in its services and making no open avowal of its faith. The Church itself lacked the true spirit of fellowship, and a clear conception of the work to which it was called and the glorious opportunity which awaited it. A Mission of Help, such as that which went to South Africa, comprising some of the greatest of the Church's Mission preachers, men of vision and spiritual power, could surely bring a clearer view of the Church's work and message to the eyes of Christians in India, and knit them together in a closer bond of fellowship. Their message would come with all the freshness of those straight from the centre of Church life in England, and the special power which always attaches to a new voice and a fresh method of presentation of the old truths. They would be in touch with the current difficulties of faith, and know the best way to meet them. They would probably attract those to whom the Church was not appealing, and many of them might be led to repentance and newness of life. They would bring

encouragement to lonely workers who seldom had the opportunity of hearing a brother priest preach, or of taking counsel with him on matters affecting their work, or of discussing with one of wide experience its problems. The Mission would come to assure the Church that the Church at home had not forgotten it. How often it has seemed to chaplains and all those working among European and Anglo-Indian congregations that the Church in England thinks but little of their work. The missionaries are sent out by societies who keep in closest touch with them, and support them in every way by prayers and alms in the work to which they have given their lives; but who are behind the chaplains who are ministering to Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the slums of an Eastern city, no whit less depressing than those of an English town? The Mission would prove to them that their work was not forgotten by the Church at home, and the missioners themselves, brought face to face with the conditions of the Church's work in the varied conditions of Indian life, would return home with a new understanding of its problems, and a quickened desire to explain its needs to the Church at home.

During 1921 plans were prepared for the visit of the pioneers in the autumn. For some while there was doubt as to whether the men suited for this work would be available, but our suspense was ended in September by the arrival of a welcome cable telling us that the Rev. Father David Jenks, S.S.M., the Rev. G. C. Lunt, M.C., and the Rev. E. C. West were definitely sailing for India. Their tour had been planned with the object of enabling them to gain as clear an impression as possible of the ground to be

covered, the character of the congregations to whom the Mission was to be sent, and the conditions under which the work would have to be done. No attempt was made for them to visit every station where it was planned to hold a Mission later, or to hold preliminary Missions, but typical places were visited—railway headquarters, military cantonments, planting and mining districts, and centres of government, commerce, and industry.

It had been early decided that if the Mission was to secure success, it must be definitely limited as to its scope. It was to be a Mission to the English-speaking members of the Church of England in India, and no attempt was to be made to reach vernacular-speaking congregations or non-Christians. It was hoped that Indian clergy and missionaries attending the Missions would hear the message, and later pass it on to the people in their own vernaculars.*

The pioneers had a strenuous time and travelled great distances; while generally warmly welcomed, there were some both among the clergy and the laity who were not yet convinced of the use of the Mission. It

* It may be useful to give the figures of the European and Anglo-Indian population in India and Burmah. The Europeans, according to the census of 1911, which is the latest for which I have the figures, number just under 200,000, of which some 125,400 are Anglicans. The Anglo-Indians number just over 101,000, of whom 34,550 are Anglicans. The total Anglicans to whom the Mission was sent in India and Burmah was therefore some 160,000. In Ceylon the proportion of Europeans, Burghers, and Anglo-Indians to the total population is much larger than in India, being 1 in 117 of the population, whereas in India it is less than one-tenth of this. The total of these communities in the island is 34,255, but the Census Report does not give the denominational figures.

was a time when the spirit of mistrust was abroad in the political world. Non-co-operation was at its height, and racial antipathies were strong. Perhaps something of this spirit had infected certain of our countrymen in India, and they viewed the coming of the Mission of Help with distrust. They could never have shared the feelings of those already described. They had little vision, and no consciousness of the Church's failure rightly to accomplish its work. The Englishman in India is always somewhat suspicious of the cold-weather visitor from home. He is ready to suspect him of being anxious after a few days' sojourn to instruct the old resident on every subject connected with Indian life, and to show him how to behave towards the Indian and to solve political problems. To some chaplains the coming of the Mission seemed to be a slight upon their work and upon the Church in the country at large. Were there not among the clergy in India priests experienced in conducting Missions, and if so, what need to send to England and bring others out at great expense? It was not easy to persuade these objectors that at home such Missions formed a regular part of the Church's work, and that experience had shown that simultaneous Missions throughout large areas were more effective than isolated efforts; it was pointed out that only lately such a Mission had been held throughout the length and breadth of England. It was true that we had some few men who were experienced missioners, but in India there is no reserve of clergy to take the place of those who go on special duty; there are few churches to which more than one priest is attached, and if he is a Government chaplain he

must obtain leave to be absent from his parish, and such leave is limited by stringent rules, and is intended to recruit him when sick or tired. Thus, though we could and do arrange individual parochial Missions from time to time, it was out of the question for us with our limited resources to think of planning a Mission which was to embrace the whole Province and to last over four months. South Africa with her far larger resources had turned to the Mother Church for help, and we were taking the only possible course to carry out what the Provincial Assembly had unanimously desired.

It was part of the pioneers' task to meet such arguments and allay suspicion, and in their retreats for clergy and conferences with laymen much was done to create a spirit of expectancy, and to indicate the way in which the Mission might be rightly prepared for. Special attention had to be given to the work among British troops, and from the first the Army authorities, from the Commander-in-Chief down, rendered the pioneers every possible assistance, and gave them all the available information as to probable movements of troops and the times for camps of exercise, which it would be necessary to take into consideration when fixing the dates of Missions. But information of this kind, given a year in advance, has not really much practical value, for military plans are always subject to revision at short notice, and in the present instance there was no exception to this rule.

Before their journey was half accomplished, the pioneers were convinced that the number of missioners suggested by the bishops of the Province was

inadequate for the task which was required of them. They were clear that, if the Mission was really to accomplish its purpose, the meshes of its net must be smaller than had been planned. Not only must Missions be held in the larger centres of population, but smaller groups in up-country stations and the scattered dwellers in planting districts must also be visited. They were convinced that not less than thirty men and women, instead of the fifteen previously suggested, must be asked for. On the basis of a Mission of this number, they drew up plans, and it was with something of consternation that during the meeting of the Provincial Assembly, at the end of January, 1922, a cable was received stating that it was impossible for the Committee at home to undertake to send out more than the number originally contemplated. Plans were at once discussed by which this number could be augmented. Could the Church in India undertake the additional financial responsibility of bringing out five men at its own charges? Would it not be possible to supplement those who came from home by men recruited on the spot? There were several weeks of anxious thought and earnest prayer before we learnt that the Committee at home had determined to send the full complement of twenty-four priests and six women. No greater service was rendered by the pioneers to the cause of the Mission of Help to India than their insistence on the necessity of increasing the number of the missioners, and the way in which they were able to convince the Committee at home of the wisdom of their proposal. The draft programme which they carried home with them still needed to be approved by the several bishops of the

Province, and could not be finally determined till the dates of the Army reliefs and moves which take place in the autumn had been settled. This was not quite realised at home, and a detailed plan giving the dates of the Missions to be held in the several stations, and the names of the missioners who were to conduct them, reached us in July, just after we had received a list of the regiments to be transferred. The dates of these transfers only reached me, and that through the courtesy of the Commander-in-Chief, who sent me an advance copy, on August 6, 1922, three days before I was due to start for a visitation of the Diocese of Colombo. The movements of troops in fifteen cases clashed with the dates of the Mission, and anybody who knows the difficulty of drawing up an intricate scheme into which not only factors of time and distance, but also the personality of the missioner have to be taken into account, will realise the amount of work entailed in adjusting the pioneers' programme with the least possible disturbance of the several missioners' work. Thanks to some very hard work by my chaplain, the Rev. Philip Higham, this task was finished, and the information sent out to the Committee at home and to every diocese in India by the time we were due to leave.

The pioneers had brought with them a selection of Mission literature, much of it valuable, but local conditions seemed to call for the production of something more closely related to life and work in India, which could only be written by those with long experience of the country; for this purpose a Literature Committee was appointed, with Canon W. H. G. Holmes, of the Oxford Mission, as chairman. It was decided to issue

two series of papers with a view to a six months' direct preparation.

Men working among different classes of people, who for the most part had previous experience of conducting Missions, were chosen to write the papers. It proved to be a very difficult matter to treat the subjects in a way which would suit the congregations of all parts of the Province. For instance, we very soon had complaints from Ceylon that the literature sent them presupposed conditions which did not obtain in the island. India was constantly referred to, but they had no part or parcel in it, but were a British Colony. Reference was made to the Mission coming during the "cold weather," but they knew no such season, and to describe the month of November as such was ludicrous.

The papers of the two series were at first marked A and B respectively, but this gave rise to trouble, because it was rumoured that the B series was meant for people of a lower standard of intelligence or culture, and those who received them resented the imputation and demanded to be given the A tracts. We learnt by experience and discarded the discriminating marks.

But this did not save us entirely from trouble, for sometimes a particular paper got into quite the wrong hands. For instance, at one station, the headquarters of a provincial government, a tract specially written for soldiers by an experienced chaplain was handed round, with the result that I received an indignant letter from an Indian civilian protesting against such literature (no, he would not dignify it by that name!) being issued in the name of the Mission of Help. I

was able to reply that it was not intended for him, but that we were dealing with men of different mentalities and standards of culture to whom the appeal had to be couched in different language, and that as a matter of fact the same post that brought his letter of complaint had brought me another from a chaplain working among soldiers, who said that it was the best pamphlet that had been issued, and asking for a further supply of 2,000. Another chaplain also wrote of it that it was the first that really seemed to have made the men think

We tried to make it plain to all the chaplains that we were endeavouring to help them in the preparation of their people, and if the literature we produced failed to meet the type of person they had in view, they were under no obligation to use it. That on the whole it was widely appreciated is shown by the very large amount which was purchased and distributed.

In addition to the Intercession Papers, which were widely used, a special Study Circle Book was prepared by the Rev. R. Pelly. An edition of 2,600 copies was printed and quickly sold out.

In many cases the estimate of six months proved to be an over-sanguine one, for, except in the case of the Missions held later in the spring, there were few congregations of which the majority were resident in their stations for so long a period before the Mission. The only congregations which were an exception to this rule were the Ceylonese (Burgher and Sinhalese) congregations in Ceylon, and those of the domiciled community in India. As far as the troops are concerned, during the hot weather most of them are moved in turns up to the hill stations, and during October

the reliefs and moves begin. Of the European congregations, during the summer many are away in England or at the hills, returning in October or later. An attempt was made to commence the preparation at the hill stations, but that involved its being begun by clergy who would not be able to carry it on to the end, or to be with the people during the Mission itself.

This difficulty of lack of continuity in the preparation, and in some cases of a change of chaplain directly before the Mission, was a very serious handicap to the missioners. Naturally the bishops did all in their power to avoid such changes, but the transfers of chaplains are, in most cases, due to men going on or returning from furlough, and the majority of them take place in the autumn or the beginning of the hot weather. These are difficulties which do not beset those responsible for the preparation for a Mission at home, and proved a serious drawback to us in India. Nowhere was the work of preparation more difficult than in the planting districts, where a single chaplain has to cover a very large tract of country. He can meet his people in any particular place but seldom, and there are few places where services are regularly held in his absence, for the number who can gather at any one centre is small, and private houses or clubs take the place of churches.

To this mainly must be attributed the fact that in certain districts of Assam there was an atmosphere of non-co-operation, which was only dispelled by the personalities of the missioners, who " made good " the moment they got a real chance of making contact with the people.

As the time for the Mission drew nearer, a welcome sign of growing interest in the Mission was the appearance of letters in some of the papers protesting against it. The cost to the Church of bringing out so large a body of men was heavy, and it was urged that the money could be used to far greater advantage in helping the unemployed or increasing the salaries of the poorer clergy at home. An unfortunate error in a Reuter's telegram added fuel to this flame by announcing that an appeal for £25,000 had been issued to meet the cost of sending the Mission out. These objectors received little support from other correspondents, while newspapers throughout India were exceedingly helpful in publishing information and backing the enterprise in their editorial columns. When the time for the Mission approached in the great cities, they granted special rates for advertisements or published them free, as in the case of the *Statesman* of Calcutta, which published a striking whole-page advertisement without charge.

Suspicion was hard to kill. Some of the clergy feared that the missioners were coming "to teach them their job," while the laity were afraid that they would dwell upon the relations of European and Indian, or some aspect of the political question. During the year before the Mission the non-co-operation movement was at its height, and racial feeling was very strong and bitter; indeed, during April I received a letter from England suggesting that it might be better on this account to postpone the Mission. It was, however, clear that the worst was over and that the situation was improving, and that there was every prospect that the Mission would be in no way hindered.

Such proved to be the case, and it was interesting to notice that in the Indian-edited Press there was generally a friendly attitude adopted towards the Mission, though occasionally it was hinted that the English could not be worse, and it was hoped that the Mission might do them some good!

It was decided that as regards the finance of the Mission, the Province should be treated as a whole, and each diocese was assessed according to its capacity. It was estimated that the expenses of the missioners in India would be about £2,700. Every diocese paid its assessed quota in full, and thanks to liberal concessions granted by the railways, in some cases even free passes being given over their lines to each missioner using them, the estimate was not exceeded; indeed, what would have been a heavy debit was converted into a small credit balance.

II

The Mission of Help to the Church in India consisted of the Bishop of Peterborough, the Dean of Manchester, and twenty-three priests and six ladies recruited in England, assisted for part of the time by two bishops and three priests from the Church in India.

The main body of the missioners left England in two parties, three deferring their departure till later in the year in order that they might stay in India later to visit the Hill Schools and Sanatoria, in which it was useless to hold Missions before April. The larger body, under the leadership of the Dean of Manchester, comprising, besides the Dean, fifteen priests and four

ladies, landed at Bombay at the end of October, and were welcomed by Archdeacon Hatchell, the Bishop's Commissary. The Bishop of Bombay had been obliged to leave India earlier to undergo an operation in England, and his absence at the time of the Mission was not only a serious loss to his own diocese, but to the whole Province. The service of welcome and commission was held in the Cathedral on the eve of All Saints' Day. The Festal Evensong was followed by a special service, during which I addressed the missioners and gave my blessing to each one individually. To myself the service was deeply moving, and I believe this experience was shared by the missioners and the large congregation which had gathered to join in this act of worship which marked the commencement of the Mission in the diocese. Before the missioners dispersed, the opportunity was taken to explain details of the plans and to give such advice to those new to the country as experience suggested.

The smaller party, led by the Bishop of Peterborough, landed at Colombo. He was accompanied by five priests and two ladies. Unfortunately the steamer was delayed four days beyond her time, and the missioners landed on Sunday afternoon in pouring rain, barely in time for the evening service on the first Sunday of the Mission in Colombo, and too late for the special preliminary meetings which had been carefully planned to lead up to the Mission itself.

It is not my purpose to give details of the Missions in the various places or even dioceses, but rather, looking back on the work of the Mission in the Province as a whole, to attempt in some measure to gauge the effect

which it produced. But first I would emphasise the warmth of the welcome which was extended with but few exceptions to the missioners wherever they went. These exceptions were in stations or districts where the work of preparation had been beset by more than ordinary difficulties, and even there, when once the object of the Mission was clearly recognised and the personality of the missioners had time to make itself felt, all barriers were broken down, and the response was marked by genuine enthusiasm.

The headquarters of the provincial Governments and of the dioceses visited are in the same cities, and in nearly every case the Governors took a leading part in welcoming the missioners and forwarding their work; indeed, throughout the Mission the authorities, both civil and military, rendered every assistance in their power, postponing engagements which clashed with the services, and themselves setting an example by their attendance at them.

Some few of the missioners had no previous experience of conducting a Mission, and this undoubtedly was a handicap to them, for the ten days of a Mission are all too short a period in which to set out the fundamental truths of the Faith, and to get down deep into the lives of men and lead them to repentance and definite decision. To preach a Mission requires a real gift of prophecy, and where this was possessed the congregations steadily grew, and many sought out the missioner for private counsel and advice. In one or two of the military stations the regiment had just arrived from the hills and the chaplain was a stranger to the men, but even under such adverse conditions, where the missioner had a real power of preaching,

British reserve was broken down, and the men gladly came to hear him. The missioners did not in many cases follow the lines of the "old-fashioned" Mission, and the message was more calculated to deepen the spiritual life of those who were faithfully striving to serve our Lord than to convert the careless and indifferent. In the smaller stations, as perhaps was natural, the response was more general than in the larger towns, for though in these the congregations were large, and remarkably so in the city of Colombo, yet it could hardly be said, as was said of some of those up-country stations, that "with the exception of a few individuals who attended none of the services or meetings, the whole place was stirred, and conversation centred on the Mission and on the Christian religion." While the interest aroused in the large towns was widespread and Sunday congregations were in every case much beyond the ordinary, generally speaking, during the week it was the members of the regular Sunday congregations who attended. Many of these gained a clearer knowledge of the character of God, and were drawn into closer fellowship with Him and one another. Herein the definite aim of the Mission, in so far as it can be said that the work of the whole body of missioners was dominated by one special thought, was realised. A card of remembrance had been approved at a meeting of the missioners at home, at which, however, all were not present, and sent out to me. It ran as follows: "In response to the call of the Mission, I resolve that, by the help of God, I will faithfully endeavour by prayer and work and personal example to bear loyal witness to the claims of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to set forward the Kingdom of God

in the service and fellowship of His Church." I sent this to every diocese, expressing the hope that it would be generally adopted; I found, however, that in my own diocese, as well as in other dioceses, some of the clergy, and those priests who were most familiar with such Missions, felt it was hardly definite enough, and there was a reluctance to make it the sole " resolution " card of the Mission. I discussed the matter with the missioners in Bombay, and found, whilst there was not complete unanimity, that there was generally a strong desire that it should be used. I wrote again to all the dioceses urging that a supply of these cards should be available for every missioner. They were fairly widely used, and some of those who at first were opposed to them later changed their minds. One of our priests, who himself took part in the Mission, thus explained his change of view: " A wealth of prayer was being offered at home and all over the world, concentrating on the need of fellowship, which the missioners from home desired to be the central note. I had felt that the memorial cards of fellowship were too vague, and desired to have purpose cards of a much more definite nature. In the end I changed my opinion. Religion is caught, not taught, and if men will only come into the fellowship they will catch the inspiration of deeper faith." When these cards were used, and those who took them were brought together into organised fellowship, the results of the Mission have been conserved and men and women led to take a definite part in one or more of the varied branches of Christian service.

I would mention here the spirit of co-operation shown by members of the Free Churches; in many places they

took an active part in the work of intercession during the months of preparation for the Mission; many of them attended the services, in some of the smaller stations closing their own churches that they might do so.

The conditions obtaining in the planting districts made it impossible to follow the ordinary method of a Mission. In Assam, writes one speaking of the Mission, " the work naturally gathers round the clubs. On one day, when there is polo, people gather there from a radius of over twenty miles, and the method we have followed has been to hold quite informal meetings after polo and tea are over. We have kept those meetings entirely informal in character, allowing the men to smoke, and the missioner has just talked to a room in most cases quite full, the great majority being men. The talk being over, all have stood and said the ' Lord's Prayer ' together, and the meeting ended with the blessing. This method of conducting the ' services ' was justified abundantly by results, the attention being maintained at that high pitch of intensity which is an inspiration to the speaker, and the response being obvious."

While the European in India is not less religious than his countrymen at home, it is certainly true that the majority do not attend church regularly. It is not for me to attempt here to lay bare the causes of this neglect, but we looked forward to the Mission in the hope that the careless would be drawn in, and those who were kept away by doubts would find in the teaching of the missioners the solution of their difficulties. Some of the missioners were brilliant preachers, and where they went large and enthusiastic congre-

gations gathered to listen to them, but even in the case of these men the missioners failed to draw in the indifferent and the careless; the people who attended were mostly those who do come at least occasionally to church, and those outside seemed untouched.

Nothing at the time of the Mission caused more grateful surprise than the attendance at the evidential addresses given at special midday services and evening meetings. In Colombo the church in which the midday addresses were given was packed till there was not even standing room, and it was thought well to continue them beyond the period fixed for the Mission. In Calcutta we were assured by leading business men, who were genuinely sympathetic, that it would be useless to attempt them, there was no regular luncheon interval as in London, and men did not leave their offices. We determined to attempt the impossible, and a steady attendance of 100 to 150 men, who greatly appreciated the addresses, was the result.

Throughout the Mission, the Y.M.C.A. secretaries rendered most valuable help, and organised many evening meetings which were largely attended. The subjects dealt with at these generally had relation to present-day difficulties, and to some extent they reached a class of person who did not attend the services. That many individuals were helped by them there is abundant evidence.

So far I have spoken only of the work of the ordained missioners, but I must turn now to that of the ladies who accompanied them. In their case each had made some special branch of work among women their special study, and while old-established Church organisations

like the Mothers' Union and the Girls' Friendly Society, which had already spread to India, were strengthened and workers encouraged, we were introduced to fresh organisations, such as the "Young Wives' Fellowship," designed to reach and help classes of people hitherto largely untouched. There is no doubt that the work of these ladies has given a tremendous stimulus to social work, and in all the big cities, I believe, guilds or leagues of social service for women have been organised. These are not in several cases limited to members of the Church of England, and in one at least some non-Christian women have been drawn in, but this does but show that the influence of the Mission has extended beyond our own particular circle to the greater glory of God. Another Society to which we were introduced was "The Time and Talents" Society, which has undoubtedly brought fresh interest into the lives of many young society women in India.

In the course of this article I have studiously avoided the mention of names, but I find it impossible to do so at this point, for Miss Higson came to us highly trained for dealing with the social evil, and throughout her stay in India devoted herself almost entirely to the work of social purity. I cannot refrain from quoting the report of one of her meetings for soldiers, which was characteristic of very many such held in Indian cantonments. "The most impressive meeting undoubtedly was a crowded gathering of soldiers in the R.A. Theatre. Miss Higson spoke on the moral question. We all rather feared this meeting. Would the soldiers walk out or cry her down? But we need have had no qualms. She spoke with great power and delicacy. There was no appeal

to fear, but the subject was lifted into a new atmosphere. The men were so impressed that we had to arrange another meeting in the same theatre, when she spoke on Love, the greatest thing in the world. If the Mission had accomplished nothing else these two meetings would have been worth while." Her work was not limited to soldiers, but she got into touch with Vigilance Associations and kindred organisations in the great cities she visited, and everywhere by her winning personality and wise counsel inspired workers with a fresh enthusiasm and hopefulness.

In some cases one or more of the ladies preceded the Mission priest, and by systematic visiting and work among the women and girls, admirably prepared them to welcome his message. We cannot be too grateful that the band of missioners included these six ladies, and their work did much to give permanence to the desire to grow in the knowledge of God and in fellowship with their Christian brethren, and to render service to God by serving their neighbours.

The position of chaplains outside of the large towns is frequently one of extreme isolation. In many cases the nearest brother priest is many miles away, and they cannot leave their stations save on business without taking casual leave. There is much to discourage them in their work. They seldom hear any voice but their own, and constant transfers both of themselves and their people hinder the growth of that intimate mutual knowledge which is essential to the true pastoral relationship. To such the missioner came as a very welcome visitor, and many a priest brought into close personal intercourse with him through the period of the Mission and in seeing the

response which his message awoke in his congregation, was inspired with fresh courage to face his difficult task. They feel that they may look for a readiness of response and support which was there, but lying dormant before the Mission. They feel now that there is a body of men and women at home who sympathise with them and understand their difficulties, and whose word will carry weight as that of impartial and competent observers, and not to be lightly set aside like the pleadings of those who may be supposed to be biassed by long residence in the country.

Great as the blessing has been which the Mission has brought to a very large number of individuals throughout India, I strongly believe that the service it can render us is not yet complete. The spiritual needs of the European and domiciled communities in India have never been truly appreciated in England; the call to minister to those communities has never appealed with the same force as the call to carry the Gospel of Christ to non-Christian peoples. It has never been realised that it is the Church infused with the Spirit of Christ, active in loving ministry among the people in the midst of whom it dwells, that will be the real attractive power to draw men to Him. The duty of supplying those spiritual ministrations is being laid in larger measure upon the Church itself, and unless the Church at home adopts a more generous attitude towards their kinsfolk in India, it may well be that scattered groups, and impoverished communities will wander astray in the wilderness for lack of shepherds to lead them amid green pastures. The missioners will not forget those who extended so warm a welcome

to them when they came over to help them at the Church's call. They will encourage their younger friends to offer at least a short period of their lives to the service of those who sorely need them, and they will see to it that those who have returned from foreign service shall not be neglected by the Church at home.

IX

THE MISSION OF HELP (*Continued*)

By the Most Rev. RANDALL DAVIDSON, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury.

The following is a Report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Sermon, preached at Westminster Abbey at the Dismissal Service for the Members of the Mission of Help.

It is a great privilege to all of us to be here to-day. I feel it myself to be a high privilege to stand, as Archbishop, on an occasion which has no exact parallel in our history.

Just because the occasion is of such a sort, I plead your indulgence for using the very simplest thoughts and words that I can find. For I am certain that we do well to reduce to its very simplest terms what it is that this Mission of Help is trying to do.

If I had to give a subject title to what I want to say, I should call it, "The trust of being witnesses." You must already have found that simple thought, which takes its start in our Lord's own words in the forty days, to be applicable with peculiar appropriateness, both to those in India, to whom we of the home Church are sending you, and, in an intensive degree, to you who go as our emissaries.

Recall the Gospel story. The risen Lord, His ministry on earth ended, passes from men's sight. But before He goes, He plainly and pointedly reiterates both in the upper room on Easter Night, and, a few weeks later, on the open hillside near Bethany, what is the trust He commits to those to whom He had been speaking the things concerning the Kingdom of God. He reiterates, "Ye are My witnesses"; and again, "Ye shall receive power, and ye shall be My witnesses."

And they were. They kept on saying so. "We are witnesses of these things." It was plain and unmistakable. A business-like Roman officer, explaining to another officer what it all seemed to be about, describes it, contemptuously perhaps but not untruly, as "About one Jesus, who was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive."

And the witness prevailed. No student of history will hesitate to say that what "told" and won was the witness to the living Lordship of Christ, borne by the scattered groups of ordinary people in Mediterranean towns and villages, with a constantly widening circle radiating out. These are plain facts.

Now apply these words to-day to India and its life, and to the position of the English in India.

You missioners have been thinking for months past on that subject. You will correct me in your thoughts if I am wrong; but I think it is true to say that there never has been, and is not now, in the round world anything which corresponds to the problem you are helping to solve.

For hundreds of years it has been no unusual thing

to have English settlements in lands overseas. Think of Virginia, say 300 years ago; think of New England then and later; think later of the West Indies; later still of Australia, and of Western Canada. All were important. But none was the least like this. A great and scattered band of English men and women settled for a while over the huge Continent of India in the midst of a vast, intelligent, non-Christian people, over whom they are to administer the forces and the influences of that Commonwealth which we call the British Empire; that Commonwealth or Empire, with its sources and centre here in England, administered, in recent times at least, not for the good and gain of England, but for the good and gain of the Indian people; that Empire which, while avoiding "Missions" by Government, has avowedly Christian force and influence at its core, and as its professed rule of action.

There obviously is a task vast and far-reaching indeed! The thought rushes in, What an appallingly difficult duty! What an awe-inspiring trust! What a tangible and glowing opportunity! Who is sufficient for these things?

Since the British Raj was planted in India thousands of our very foremost young men have gone thither, bearing, consciously or unconsciously, that trust. They have entered on their task with high ideals, with a deep sense of duty and with inspiriting resolves. They have had a buoyant spirit of loyalty to the high standard of British rule; but surely often an inadequate appreciation of what we must call the splendour of their task.

If you would realise how thoughtful men have viewed it, recall the words of such men as John

Lawrence, the glowing eloquence of Burke or Macaulay, the quieter pages of Seeley in "The Expansion of England," and of Lord Morley. I think it is not too much to say that for its full greatness to be seen and grasped there must be not public spirit only, but something at least of the religious basis. It will be, nay, it is, when quiet loyalty to the Lord Christ lies at the root or background of the endeavour, that the whole rings true.

And if the task for these people is at all times difficult, brothers, how much more complex, disquieting, anxious, even bewildering, is it just now, with all that is astir among the peoples, with all the modern influences of European thought working on Eastern minds, with all the unsettlement and outcome of the war years!

And so, as one tries to look out upon it all, the thought presses, How many of these eager, high-toned men, how many of their wives and friends, in military or civil or commercial circles, see it, to speak reverently, as Christ sees it? A section, a picked section, of a Christian people, of Christ's Society on earth, are set there with the responsibility on them of witness. How intensely hard, how unlike the ordinary ideas of responsibility that they have realised in home life! Yet beyond question the indirect, and, perhaps for that very reason, the most potent, effectiveness of their life in India is the possibility, nay, the fact, of witness.

They are there as English men and women. They are there, whether they grasp it or not, whether they like it or not, as members of a Christian nation. They would indignantly repudiate any denial of that.

And yet how far is it overtly admitted, steadily remembered, and acted upon in daily life before God and men?

You are going out, my brothers and sisters, to help them towards remembering and acting upon that trust. I press no detail as to how you can best do it. I have not the knowledge. You will have, you have had, far better guides and counsellors than I. I emphasise only the thought: you are going on purpose to help them to be "witnesses," in life rather than word. You have been thinking, and you will think out more fully, what are in Indian life their special difficulties, temptations, hindrances, and limitations, the things which make witness hard.

To-day we join with you in prayer that you may have wisdom and understanding for your task. And we send you forth here, from Westminster Abbey, with a peculiar fitness. England's great men lie here, England's great Christian men. Some of them gave the best years of life and thought and acts for India. Charles John Canning lies here; and James Outram, and Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde, and John Lawrence; and the names and monuments of many more are on the walls around us. Anyhow, we are gathered here, at one of the great nerve centres of English Christianity, to say that we realise, and care about, the trust given to those of us who in India, as it is, have to speak and act as witnesses; for England, yes—but something more: for Christian England, for the Society of Jesus Christ.

What we should like to think is that you will help them to realise in India that we at home are so thinking, so praying. That may surely help them a good deal.

That is the chief meaning of our to-day's service. We are knowing, caring, praying about it. And that knowledge may bring sometimes a fresh inspiration, a new sense of responsibility, a new uplift of expectant hope. Some sort of witness, in one form or another, of what Christian England is like is being borne, must be borne, whether they intend it or not. We want to help them to bear it worthily.

Give them, O Lord, the remembrance in little things of their great trust. It is so easy to forget; so splendid, so steadying, so uplifting, when it is remembered.

Help them to realise England's trust of her sons and daughters in India.

Be that our prayer. Do not let us think or fear that we shall pray it in vain. That is for them, the great host of those who are thus called, week in, week out, for years together, to carry that burden of answerableness to us at home, to the Indian peoples, to the Indian Christians (do not forget them when we think of the trust given to our own people), to the Lord of all the earth, Who sees and knows and cares.

And now for you, who are going from these walls to bear across the sea that word of stimulus, courage, hope, trust, which we send by you. Your embassy is no light or easy thing. Most of you have scant knowledge of the details of difficulty which you will help them to conquer. But you have tried; and some know. It will be an arduous, anxious, and bewildering task. You will feel you know the elements of what you want to say just when you are coming home again. We feel it with and for you. But we bid you go. They have asked for you. You are assured a welcome from those who know best. Go forward in God's

Name. Do it to the utmost, not of your power, but of the power which will be given you of the Lord, Whose ministers, Whose messengers in that intensest sense, you are.

It is a great enterprise. You will rise to it. What will be the immediate fruit, whether you or I will see it, we cannot tell. It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath set within His own authority. But this is certain. You go whole-heartedly; you go humbly. And the Lord has said, "Ye shall receive power." And, in the most direct sense possible, "Ye shall be My witnesses."

You feel with me the responsibility of this solemn hour. To-day, in virtue of my office, in pursuance of a unanimous wish of the bishops of both Provinces, I stand at this notable centre of our Church's thought and life to bid you, our messengers in the Church's name, Godspeed. Our prayers will prevent and follow you, and we shall watch for tidings of your welcome and your work.

Once more, brethren, I commend you to God and to the word of His Grace, which is able so to build you up that your task in this great journey for the fulfilment of His trust be not futile or vain or unworthy of its high intent. As we think of what it means, we fall back, in quiet confidence, on the familiar apostolic word:

"We exhort you, brethren, admonish the disorderly, encourage the faint-hearted, support the weak, be long-suffering towards all. Rejoice alway; pray without ceasing; in everything give thanks; for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus to youward. And the God of Peace sanctify you wholly, and may your

spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is He that calleth you, Who also will do it."

Dominus custodiat exitum et introitum. The Lord preserve your going out and your coming in, from this time forth and for evermore.

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